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# ***Daily Report***

# **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-92-050  
Friday  
13 March 1992

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-APR-92-050

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**ANC, PAC Delegations Attend Frontline Summit**

*MB1203140792 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1351 GMT 12 Mar 92*

[Text] Lusaka Mar 12 SAPA—Two South African liberation movements are attending the Frontline States summit in Lusaka, ZIANA National News Agency reports.

The African National Congress is represented by party Deputy President Walter Sisulu, international affairs head Thabo Mbeki and Defence Secretary Joe Modise.

The Pan Africanist Congress [PAC] is represented by its president, Mr Clarence Makwetu, who is leading a three-man delegation. The agency did not name the other PAC delegates.

**Frontline Heads of State Issue Communique 12 Mar**

*MB1203193692 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 12 Mar 92*

[Text] Frontline heads of government who met in Lusaka today have warned white South Africans of (?disastrous effect) if they choose to go back to the dark days of apartheid in next week's referendum.

A communique released after the summit said white South Africans have more to gain if they opt for democracy than if they go back to apartheid.

The summit which elected Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe as the new chairman of the Frontline States said peace and security for white South Africans lies in an amicable conclusion of Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa], the Conference for Democracy in South Africa.

The whites are to vote next Tuesday [17 March] on whether they support the reformist policies of President F. W. de Klerk who has threatened to step down if he loses the referendum.

The summit also expressed concern about the continuing violence amongst blacks which, it was said, does not help the peace process in South Africa.

Both the African National Congress and the Inkatha were urged to observe the peace accord signed between them last year to ensure the continuation of the peace process.

The summit was attended by President of the Pan-Africanist Congress Clarence Makwetu and Vice President of the African National Congress Walter Sisulu who expressed the hope that Mr. de Klerk will win Tuesday's referendum.

The heads of state said they will do everything possible to ensure that the peace process continues in South Africa. They also appealed to the Ad Hoc Committee or the Organization of African Unity to do the same.

**ECOMOG Commander Meets U.S. General Powell**

*AB1103222092 Paris AFP in English 1902 GMT  
11 Mar 92*

[Text] Freetown, March 11 (AFP)—General Colin Powell, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, had an hour long meeting Wednesday here with the field commander of the West African peace keeping force in Liberia (ECOMOG), Major General Ishaya Bakut.

Powell conveyed the United States appreciation "for ECOMOG's fine performance over the past 18 months," according to a press release.

It also said both men "reviewed the current situation in Liberia and prospects for a peaceful outcome."

Bakut thanked the United States for its "valuable support in the search for peace" in Liberia.

In an interview with AFP, he attributed the delay in the setting up of the buffer zone on the 304 kilometers border between Sierra Leone and Liberia to "slight differences on the mode of deployment of the peacekeepers."

Diplomatic sources said both men dwelt at length on how to "speedily bring an end to the war and for ECOMOG troops to be deployed throughout Liberia. One diplomat said that "the United States—which have spent more than 25,000,000 dollars both directly to ECOMOG and other respective militaries of its component states—now seemed determined more than ever before" because "a result is urgently needed" on the peace process in Liberia.

**ECOMOG Field Commander on NPFL Delays**

*AB1203145092 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English  
0900 GMT 12 Mar 92*

[Text] The ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] field commander, Major General Ishaya Bakut, has been holding talks with the U.S. military officials in Freetown. Details of the discussions were not revealed, but Gen. Bakut told reporters that differences over the interpretation of the Yamoussoukro peace accord were delaying the deployment of ECOMOG troops into NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] areas.

Asked what ECOMOG intends to do to stop the delays by the NPFL, Gen. Bakut said the search for peace requires patience. Though ECOMOG appeared not to be on schedule, the ECOMOG boss agreed, the peace-keeping force has been making steady and sure progress. Gen. Bakut said Prince Johnson and his men have behaved in a true spirit of accord with his men encamped and waiting to be disarmed once they are given the signal. [sentence as heard]



**Burundi****Armed Forces Chief on Vote for Constitution**

*EA1203160092 Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale du Burundi Radio in French 1800 GMT 10 Mar 92*

[Excerpts] The Burundi Constitution was voted in yesterday with 90.23 percent of the votes cast in favor of it. Cibitoke Province comes on top with around 98 percent of the votes. The adoption of the national unity policy has won some admirers in that province.

The Burundi Armed Forces have once more renewed their faith in unity and democracy. They come second after Cibitoke Province. Just as they had committed themselves to voting massively for the Charter of National Unity, they have just shown their commitment in their vote for the Constitution of the Republic of Burundi. The Burundi chief of staff, Colonel Michel Mibarurwa, speaks to Marie-Jose Niyonzima about the results:

[Begin Mibarurwa recording] The commitment was respected, considering the results obtained. Out of the registered number of voters, 98.69 percent voted. Out of the total number of votes, 97.65 percent were in favor of Constitution while 1.90 percent were against it; 0.45 percent were blank votes. [passage omitted]

From the result, the members of the Armed Forces have just openly disproved those who tarnish our image by depicting the Armed Forces as undemocratic. [passage omitted] [end recording]

**Cameroon****U.S. State Department Official's Remarks Noted**

*LD1203212692 Paris Radio France International in French 1830 GMT 11 Mar 92*

[Text] Numerous reservations made by the United States on such and such African states: Remember for instance what Washington said about Cameroon or Zaire, a discourse which is clearly different from the usual diplomatic reservations, Christopher Boisbouvier:

[Boisbouvier] Yes, take the example of U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Herman Cohen, who also does not beat around the bush concerning Cameroon. He has not hesitated to denounce the repeated violations of human rights and the lack of determination on the part of the authorities to punish those who are responsible for over

a year now. That is why in fact he did not answer the request by the Cameroon Government for U.S. observers to observe 1 March elections. Still in this country, the U.S. ambassador has had regular contacts with the opposition, particularly with the English speaker John Frundi of the Democratic Social Front.

In the Central African Republic, the U.S. ambassador last year did not hesitate to offer his car as diplomatic protection to opposition leaders who were running the risk of being arrested during their movement in Bangui. Returning from Chad last week, Herman Cohen said loudly what other diplomats thought silently: There isn't one Chadian army but many, each obeying a different commander according to the state of ethnic in-fighting in the north. These gestures and statements show that the United States is in the forefront concerning the issue of human rights in Africa, perhaps because Paris and Washington do not have the exact same approach to the events of the last two years.

Herman Cohen says frankly that one should not be afraid of the awakening ethnic or regional demands encouraged by the nascent multiparty system. Sometimes it is better to separate and to resume a common life later, says the U.S. deputy secretary of state. For many French officials who care about keeping the African states in their contemporary borders, these statements may seem iconoclast.

**Rwanda****President Habyarimana Receives Burundian Minister**

*EA1303070092 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1800 GMT 11 Mar 92*

[Excerpts] The president of the Republic, Major-General Juvenal Habyarimana, met Burundi's Minister for Foreign Affairs Cyprien Mbonimpa this morning. The Burundian minister delivered a message to the president from his Burundi counterpart, Major Pierre Buyoya, but the contents of the message were not disclosed. [passage omitted]

Earlier, the head of state received the heads of the diplomatic missions of France, Belgium, USA, Canada and Germany. The meeting was related to the events which recently hit our country, in particular the problem of security in Bugesera [south] and the formation of a pluralistic transitional government.

## Ethiopia

### Foreign Ministry Denies SPLA Rebel Accusations

AB1203151092 Paris AFP in English 1441 GMT  
12 Mar 92

[Excerpts] Addis Ababa, 12 Mar (AFP)—Ethiopia's Foreign Ministry "categorically rejected" Thursday [12 March] charges that Ethiopian troops had helped the Sudanese Army recapture Pochala town, near the border, from south Sudan rebels.

Ministry Spokesman Teffera Shawil told AFP the accusations made in Nairobi by representatives of the rebel Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) "were pure imagination." [passage omitted]

A Western diplomat in Nairobi said the Sudanese Army could not have taken Pochala without passing through Ethiopian territory.

## Kenya

### Attorney General Proposes Election Law Amendments

EA1203163592 Nairobi KTN Television in English  
0500 GMT 12 Mar 92

[From the press review]

[Text] The attorney general, Amos Wako, yesterday published a bill proposing amendments in the election laws and to abolish the post of supervisor of elections, replacing it with director of elections. The story appears on the front page of the KENYA TIMES. Both THE STANDARD and the DAILY NATION have carried the same story.

### Government Criticized for Statement on Violence

EA1303064492 Nairobi DAILY NATION in English  
12 Mar 92 p 6

[Editorial: "Government Paints Most Fearful Scenario"]

[Text Yesterday's government statement about acts of sabotage and terror which the opposition, the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD), in particular, allegedly seeks to visit on Kenya is as thoroughly and irrefragably depressing as it is manifestly and patently alarming.

All it amounts to is that the government is telling its citizens that danger looms terribly large, that a state of anarchy is imminent or, as the government statement said, FORD is about to embark on a program of violence. Curiously, the government said that it was alerting and preparing Kenyans for the difficult times ahead.

Why should Kenyans go through such difficult times? A prime duty, indeed, objective of any government anywhere in the world is that of the protection of its citizens

and their property. Kenyans look to their government for their protection and that of their property. Why should they go through difficult times?

The government statement said that FORD has a 300-strong military wing. The organization of such a force is illegal, but the statement did not say whether or not it had arrested members of this squad. Why have they not been arrested? The government said that there were 500 more Libyan-trained armed guerrillas who are about to infiltrate Kenya to sabotage vital installations such as power and telephone lines, water systems and transport networks. Why is it that the government seems convinced that it will not apprehend these merchants of death before they enter the country? Why?

The statement said that these merchants of death would pose as policemen and use stolen service uniforms. Have these uniforms already been stolen? If this is the case why have Kenyans not been warned about bogus policemen on the prowl? If the uniforms have not been stolen, why is the government anticipating theft of its property?

Then the press is said to have been infiltrated by the opposition for the purposes of selectively highlighting atrocities against Kenyans and deliberately attributing them to the government. Is this misperception the reason the police force has continued to bash pressmen on assignment at trouble spots? Yesterday it was Kisumu, where NATION photographer Baraka Karama was admitted to hospital with a gushing head injury inflicted by a policeman who was demanding his roll of film. Last Saturday [7 March] it was a NATION reporter and a driver detailed to cover the Dandora fracas. They are still nursing the wounds policemen inflicted on them. Can the government give Kenyans a chronology of the events the press has highlighted which are not backed by facts and which are not objective?

The Dandora fracas happened over the weekend. The attack on FORD activists in Ngong and Garissa happened and they were reported as factually and as truthfully as possible. The clashes in western Kenya have, since last October, been reported as they have been seen and witnessed. The police action against the hunger-strike mothers of political prisoners was reported as it happened, as were the running battles between the police and mobs in Nairobi in the wake of the strip-naked protest by the mothers. Which events, then, is, as the government claims, a section of the press selectively highlighting in absolute contravention of the journalistic code of ethics and objectivity and factual presentation of news?

The government statement said that the tribal clashes in some parts of the country, namely Kericho, Nyakach and Sondu are a crude plot by FORD to antagonize the Luo and Kalenjin communities. It also said that this was a desperate move by the party to woo the Luo en masse to FORD following their resentment of a Gikuyu, Embu and Meru (Gema) communities' plot within FORD.

The question still remains: Why are the FORD people free to walk the streets when they are guilty of incitement to violence? Another question, given that these clashes began last year before the opposition was legalized, is the government saying that it has been condoning these illegal acts all along? Why has it been acting this way?

Again, the statement said the clashes were being fanned by former Kenya Air Force personnel from two areas. Why, pray, are these people not arrested? Kenyans will recall the speed with which the Kenya police stopped the then proposed Saba Saba rally [July 1990].

They will recall how police were mobilized to stop the 5th October and 16th November FORD rallies. The question is this: What has happened to that police force that acted so fast and so promptly? Why should Kenyans now brace themselves for difficult times? Never before has a government statement had the potential to cause so much fear and despondency.

### Uganda

#### Planning Minister on Economic Recovery Program

AB1303154592 Kampala Radio Uganda Network  
in English 1000 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Excerpt] The minister of planning and economic development, Mr. Mayanja-Nkangi, has said that the

economy has registered an annual growth rate of around 7 percent since the NRM [National Resistance Movement] government launched the economic recovery program. Opening a one-day government and donor aid coordination meeting yesterday at the International Conference Center, Mr. Mayanja-Nkangi said inflation has been reduced from over 200 percent to as low as 22.4 percent in 1991, and currently stands at 31.6 as per January 1992. Mr. Mayanja-Nkangi said the industrial decline has been reversed adding that confidence among both [word indistinct] and foreign investors has grown considerably.

He, however, noted that there would be a slight drop in growth to 4.6 percent in 1990/91 due to prolonged drought in some parts of the country for most of the second half of the year, which mainly affected agricultural production. Mr. Mayanja-Nkangi added that the falling world market prices of coffee also affected performance, as did a reduction in imports due to the Gulf crisis. He pointed out that the GDP per capita has been growing at an average rate of around 4 percent per annum between 1987 and 1990 compared to an average rate of decline of around minus 3 percent between 1984 to 1986.

The minister told the donors that agriculture, which accounts for about 60 percent of the GDP and 90 percent of export earning, has played the major part in the recovery of economic growth adding that in the period 1987-1990 monetary-agriculture grew on average by 5.5 percent per annum, while nonmonetary agriculture grew by 5.1 percent per annum. [passage omitted]

**NP Office, Campaign Bus Damaged in Explosions**

*MB1303055292 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network  
in Afrikaans 0530 GMT 13 Mar 92*

[Text] The National Party [NP] office at Nylstroom was damaged by an bomb blast early this morning. No one was injured in the explosion and damage was minimal. There are a number of apartments above the office.

Mr. Francois van der Merwe, NP chairman in the Waterberg constituency, has condemned the incident.

In another incident early this morning, a bus used by the NP at Cullinan as a recruitment office was damaged in an explosion. Forensic experts are still searching for clues. No one was injured in this incident either.

**Rightwing Violent 'Rhetoric' Condemned**

*MB1303134192 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1327 GMT 13 Mar 92*

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by: National Party]

[Text] The National Party has condemned the violent tactics being employed by the right wing in the past 36 hours in Pretoria, Nylstroom and Cullinan, as clearly aimed at disrupting the peaceful conduct of the referendum.

Right wingers have claimed responsibility for the attacks or are suspected of being responsible for it, which include the bombing of National Party offices in Nylstroom and Cullinan, attempted arson at Pretoria University where the state president is scheduled to address students today and the burning to death of black children in a church in Pretoria.

Expressing disgust and outrage, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe called on CP [Conservative Party] leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht to ensure that members and supporters of the CP-led right wing alliance were brought under control and stopped their terrorist activities.

He challenged Dr Treurnicht to condemn these violent actions in unambiguous terms and pointed out that the rhetoric of violence employed by Dr Treurnicht and other CP leaders in the campaign, had certainly not been helpful in ensuring that the referendum was conducted in a peaceful atmosphere.

The right wing actions would not intimidate the National Party and its workers and supporters or deter them from campaigning full out for a yes-vote on 17 March.

Issued by the Office of the Secretary-General of the National Party on March 13, 1991

**Mandela Warns of Civil War if Apartheid Reimposed**

*MB1303102492 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
1000 GMT 13 Mar 92*

[Text] ANC [African National Congress] President Nelson Mandela has warned that any attempt to reimpose apartheid in South Africa will lead to civil war and a massive international boycott of the country.

Mandela says if there is a no majority in next Tuesday's [17 Mar] white referendum, blacks will step up their resistance to white minority rule.

The ANC president told journalists today if the right wing comes to power and carries out its policies, civil war is unavoidable. Mandela says the ANC will talk to the conservatives if they come to power, but only as part of efforts to create a multiracial democracy. The Conservative Party has said it will never talk to the ANC.

Mandela says any attempt to return to apartheid will be resisted. Mandela says the ANC can topple any government by mass action, including strikes and international sanctions.

**ANC Says ICRC Not Denied Access to Camps**

*MB1203201092 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1938 GMT 12 Mar 92*

[Text] Johannesburg March 12 SAPA—African National Congress [ANC] spokesman Gill Marcus on Thursday [12 March] was adamant that the Red Cross had not been denied access to camps in Tanzania and Uganda where the ANC is alleged to be holding prisoners.

She was reacting to comments reportedly made by a International Committee for the Red Cross (ICRC) spokesman that it had met representatives of the ANC several times over the last year on the issue, "but to no avail".

Ms Marcus reiterated an earlier ANC statement extending an open invitation to the ICRC to visit the camps, and said they were "free and welcome to do".

She added if the ICRC was experiencing any difficulty in gaining access, it should make the necessary arrangements with the governments of the countries where the camps were situated.

"The ANC will try to help them as far as possible, but if access is refused by the authorities they should raise the matter with us. We will then address any difficulties and see what we can do to facilitate their visits."



**ANC To Implement Pretoria Agreement on Ciskei**

MB1303070692 Johannesburg South African  
Broadcasting Corporation Network in English  
0500 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] A high-level ANC [African National Congress] delegation is to visit the Border Region after the agreement between the ANC and the Ciskeian government in Pretoria this week on the ANC campaign against that government.

The organization confirmed in Johannesburg that it stood by the statement it had made after talks in Pretoria with Ciskei and South Africa. According to a statement, the organization was taking steps to implement this agreement.

The delegation will be led by ANC Secretary General Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa and will include several other senior ANC officials.

Earlier the ANC branch in the Border Region announced that it was continuing with the campaign to symbolically depose the Ciskeian government.

**Justice Minister on Plans for Interim Government**

MB1303061392 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2122 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Text] Dewetsdorp Mar 12 SAPA—Proposals for an interim government were not finalised, Mr Kobie Coetsee, minister of justice and leader of the [Orange] Free State National Party, said on Thursday [12 March].

However, he said in reply to a questioner at a referendum meeting here, it would be probably be introduced in phases, possibly first at cabinet level.

There were 26 million people outside the government. A great deal of the economy was in their hands and one could not negotiate and at the same time break down.

Mr Coetsee said it was not possible to bind the government to a fixed time for an interim government, but there had to be sufficient time.

Another questioner inquired about the government's promise before the last election that attention would be given to the tax system, as he said that time was running out.

In his address to about 100 people Mr Coetsee said that there were a number of reasons why there had to be a plan, through negotiation, in the search for a constitution in which all South Africa's peoples could participate.

Once the coloureds had been brought into the constitutional process after 1983 they had stopped boycotting schools and other institutions, no longer went on strike or threw stones.

Mr Coetsee said that once the constitutional position of the coloureds had been finalised, Mr P W Botha had given instructions for the position of blacks to be investigated.

Legislation had been finalised, but had never been implemented because Dr Buthelezi—leader of Inkatha—said that they could not take part and lacked credibility as long as other leaders were in exile or in jail.

To get a credible forum in which black people wanted to participate, Mr Botha, Mr Chris Heunis and Mr Coetsee, as a member of the Cabinet, had taken steps to involve Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr Coetsee said that it was with Mr Botha's knowledge and approval that he had gone ahead to make it possible for the release of Mr Mandela and others, and for organisations to be unbanned.

It was with Mr Botha's knowledge that Mr Coetsee had made it increasingly possible for Mr Mandela to return to civilian life, and to give him important exposure to the media, including the foreign media.

Mr Coetsee said he had been asked how one could trust a Free State leader that acted so. He had answered with something that Mrs Winnie Mandela had said to him: "The ANC [African National Congress] and the Mandelas must thank the National Party government for building the ANC and for building the Mandelas".

When Mrs Mandela said that in 1986 she had meant that when the ANC had been suppressed from the late 1950s through the 1960s and 1970s with severe legislation by the National Party, that the ANC had grown stronger.

Boycotts and sanctions had grown and every "Tom, Dick and Harry" who said he was an ANC member got red-carpet treatment overseas, said Mr Coetsee.

When he had seen how Free State's Zola Budd had been humiliated on overseas athletics tracks, he had decided that this could not go on. Another form of action and strategy had to be found.

He had announced in 1986 that the National Party had to get its house in order, because then it could lead South Africa into the next century. He had said the ANC were the key to the rest of the world.

A policy of suppression had not worked. The whole world had been turning against violent suppression and the United Nations had increasingly looked at the protection of minorities. There was acknowledgment of their language, culture and religion.

Mr Coetsee said that South Africa had already been busy with reformation, when Communism crumbled in Eastern Europe.

South Africa, with the statesmanship of Mr F W de Klerk, had moved timeously before the rest of the world

in the recognition of the way in which minorities could be protected, said Mr Coetsee.

Europe was presently still struggling with this question. Increasingly, minorities wanted their language, culture and religion protected.

Mr Coetsee said that the government had realised that, with the exception of Bophuthatswana, the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states were not viable and an increasing burden on the South African taxpayer.

Black towns had remained black towns, but virtually all towns from the Cape to Tzaneen were dependent on black buying power. If the blacks removed their purchasing power, many businesses would go bankrupt overnight, Mr Coetsee said.

It was necessary to look at joint services, because separate services were becoming increasingly expensive.

Mr Coetsee said there was no place for communism in a South African Government, where it was already acknowledged that there should be strong regional government.

He appealed to the Conservative Party to play their part in strong regional government in the Free State.

He said a "no" vote would open channels of anarchy, trouble and the possibility of sanctions.

From the floor the question was posed that Mr Coetsee had highlighted all the positive points of a "yes" vote, but what were the pitfalls?

Mr Coetsee said the road ahead would not be simple. Hard negotiation lay ahead and care had to be taken to concede points that could still be the subject of negotiation. Particular care had to be given to the economy as this was very brittle.

#### **Official Says CP 'Will Never Talk' to ANC**

*MB1303063192 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
0500 GMT 13 Mar 92*

[Text] The Conservative Party's [CP] deputy leader says the CP will never negotiate with the ANC [African National Congress]. Ferdie Hartzenberg has told about 300 people in Newcastle in northern Natal that the CP will never talk to the ANC, and will only negotiate with traditional leaders. Hartzenberg says he does not care how many people are represented by the ANC, he will only negotiate the concept of a commonwealth of nations with the leaders of ethnic groups.

Hartzenberg's comments conflict with those of the CP's [Orange] Free State leader, Cehill Pienaar. Pienaar told a referendum meeting in Cape Town on Wednesday [11 March] that the CP would talk to the ANC, but on certain conditions. Pienaar said the ANC would have to

renounce violence and shed its Communist Party leadership. In his words, the ANC is a group we have to take into account.

#### **CP on Homeland Leaders' Rejection of Partition**

*MB1203174092 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1730 GMT 12 Mar 92*

[Text] Pretoria March 12 SAPA—The opposition of leaders of the homelands and independent states in South Africa to partition as they understood it, was entirely compatible with the policy of the Conservative Party [CP], CP leader Andries Treurnicht said on Thursday [12 March].

In a short statement Dr Treurnicht said the CP had taken note of the opposition to partition expressed by the leaders.

"These views of the relevant leaders are entirely compatible with CP policy which does not prescribe to nations how they should express themselves constitutionally."

Even though it was the CP's view that nations could express themselves the best as ethnic units—the right which the CP was claiming for its nation—it has expressly not prescribed it for other nations.

"The CP foresees a future South Africa which exists out of one or more ethnically-founded nations next to a multi-ethnic dispensation.

"Nations that wanted to be free, however, may under no circumstances be forced into a unitary South Africa," Dr Treurnicht said.

#### **CP Leader: Interim Government Recipe for Conflict**

*MB1303061992 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2032 GMT 12 Mar 92*

[Text] Cape Town March 12 SAPA—The establishment of an interim government was a recipe for serious conflict, the leader of the Conservative Party [CP], Dr Andries Treurnicht, said on Thursday night [12 March].

Addressing about 300 people at the Muizenberg Pavilion, he said that if such a government was established, "we shall engage in a struggle to make sure the white nation is not dominated by communists, terrorists and other nations".

Dr Treurnicht warned those who spoke of a blood-bath after a "no" victory in the referendum that there were hundreds of thousand of South Africans who were trained and who knew "how to do certain things".

"I ask: Who is to start this bloodbath?"

If the ANC [African National Congress], SACP [South African Communist Party] and PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] started it, did they truly expect a responsible government to do nothing and not protect the public?



"Do they think that for the sake of friendship with the ANC, they (the government) will do nothing?"

"If they think they have all the arms on their side then they are making a bit of a mistake."

"Do they think that for the sake of Christian charity we will just sit quietly by and get mowed down like ducks on a pond?"

Dr Treurnicht said he also wanted an answer from the government about what it was going to do in such an eventuality.

On the issue of black leaders who were alleged to have said they supported the CP's policy of a commonwealth of states, he said he had been confronted by a statement from one of these leaders which was the exact opposite "to what he said when he spoke to us".

It was clear this leader had had his arm twisted.

"They said to him: 'You gained power through a take-over, you can lose power through a coup.'"

"They put pressure, economic and moral pressure on him. I say it's blackmail."

Dr Treurnicht pooh-poohed the idea of renewed and devastating sanctions.

"It is not so easy to apply sanctions against South Africa," he said. "What nation will have enough ships and aircraft to patrol our coastline and ensure nothing slips ashore?"

Former President Mr P.W. Botha's support for a "no" vote rested on the principle of self-determination and that was not reconcilable with powersharing.

"There is no better dispensation among people who want to govern themselves than a commonwealth of nations," he said.

### CP's Leader Treurnicht Interviewed on Policies

MB1303094592 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network  
in English 1830 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Interview with Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht by SABC political correspondent Lester Venter on the "Referendum '92" program—live]

[Excerpt] [Venter] Good evening. We continue our referendum coverage and tonight we speak to Conservative Party [CP] leader, Dr. Andries Treurnicht. The interview with Dr. Treurnicht will be in two parts, each preceded by a short relevant background. After my discussion with Dr. Treurnicht on the status of apartheid under a possible CP government, my colleague Freek Robinson will conduct the second segment in Afrikaans; the issues will be the CP's intention on negotiations and its views on violence. First, let's look at the Conservative Party's plans on apartheid.

[Begin video recording] [Treurnicht] With all these people who ask, now will you return to all the old apartheid laws, we say no, no.

[Venter] One of the central and controversial elements to emerge in the no campaign has been claims by leading Conservative Party figures, that the party would not return to apartheid if a CP government followed a no victory on Tuesday [17 March].

[Cehill Pienaar, CP's (Orange) Free State leader and member of Parliament] I am of the school in the Conservative Party that supports the leader, Dr. Andries Treurnicht, who said we're not going back to apartheid and we are definitely not going back to apartheid. I don't want to dwell on that. I think that argument is a very stale argument.

[Venter] Words echoed by his colleague, Mr. Koos van der Merwe.

[CP member Koos van der Merwe, in Afrikaans] What you are not adding is that overseas countries are setting two conditions. They say the reform process must continue and they say that we must not return to apartheid. My party does not have problems with these conditions. We want the reform process to continue. We do not want the present constitution and we are not returning to apartheid. [end video recording]

[Venter] This raised the question for voters: What are the implications of these claims? Dr. Treurnicht, one of the remarkable developments of the referendum campaign is that both the yes and the no camps are claiming that they are moving away from, or at least, will not return to apartheid. May I ask you to describe the differences between the two?

[Treurnicht] Well in the case of the National Party it seems to me it's an absolute, it's an absolute moving away from all forms of separateness, including also separate independent or self governing states. The Conservative Party realizes that there was an abolition of an old packet of legislation. We accept it. When we come into power the main thing, priority, will be the constitutional dispensation and to secure the application of the principle of self determination for the white nation in the first instance and also for other nations, self determination, and from there we all realize that there will be.... [Treurnicht changes thought] Certain measures will be necessary to protect, especially, your political system and educational system and we intend, that's what we promise, to find the necessary measures for protection of your own community life as it is done in all normal communities.

[Venter] Doctor, you speak of certain measures, and I'd like us to take a little closer look at the consequences of a no vote and, therefore, the consequences of an implementation of Conservative Party policy. Let's take a look at the creation of a volkstaat [people's state] and what

life may be like in such a constitutional entity. May I ask you: Do you envisage that the volkstaat would have a white or a black majority?

[Treurnicht] We intend, starting with the present situation where there is a division of land between the various black peoples and there is land which belongs to the white nation. That is a starting point? We also realize that final borders will have to be drawn. That is a matter for negotiation between a white government and the governments of the various black peoples and even the colored community.

Our aim is to find, practically, to find a majority of whites in the white land. We don't speak.... [Treurnicht changes thought] It may be a volkstaat as kwaZulu, for instance, is a country for the Zulu nation, etc., and Transkei for the Xhosa nation, but that will be the starting point and I don't want to run ahead and to specify exactly, precisely where the borders will be. That will be subject to negotiations between a government and the other one.

[Venter] That accepted, but we're speaking of the starting point. The starting point factually isn't it, that we are talking at present of 13 percent of the land in terms of black independence. Thirteen percent of the land, for roughly, around 80 percent of the population. Now that's a very difficult starting point isn't it?

[Treurnicht] No, as a matter of fact I think that we have debated that point more than once in the past, saying that it is not a matter of 13 and 87 percent. You have to take into account land belonging to the Batswana, to the southern Sotho and the Swazi, and if that is taken into account the ratio may be more or less 50-50.

[Venter] Fifty-fifty?

[Treurnicht] Yes.

[Venter] If you were to achieve a white majority, doesn't that involve moving large numbers, perhaps, tens, perhaps hundreds of thousands of people to achieve a white majority in a volkstaat?

[Treurnicht] No, we don't intend moving millions of people. We'll have to take the situation as it is. We'll have to accept there are large black residential areas in what is now, factually, what we regard as the white territory. Money is a problem which will have to be addressed, certainly, and it's a very, very important one. But I say those are things which will need very careful negotiation between a white government and the government, of, for instance, kwaZulu, to determine what will be the position of Zulu living outside kwaZulu. Shall we have to cut out such territories or an understanding for the sake of administration, are for people living outside their homelands.

[Venter] But if we accept that the areas that we are talking about are substantially under a black majority at the moment, and then you talk on the one hand of not

moving large numbers of people, and yet in an unspecified way on the other hand you talk of a large problem to solve. I mean where is this actually, concretely in reality, when the day arrives, how is it going to be sorted out?

[Treurnicht] Well, as I say, we are already now starting talks with the leaders of various black peoples. We're constantly in contact with them and this is an issue addressed already, between ourselves and President Mangope, as to the position of Tswana living in the Republic of South Africa. The same issue has been addressed already with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, about Zulus living in Soweto, for instance. But that is a subject to be addressed between the leaders.

[Venter] And a subject indeed that my colleague Freek will be taking up with you in a very short time. Let's look at daily life in the volkstaat [people's state]. May I presume in the first place you would need racial classification reintroduced to order the existence of people on the lines that you would wish there?

[Treurnicht] Well, as a matter of fact, there is a white nation and there are members of other communities.

[Venter] Let's look at other practical issues. I mean, would a black person living in such a place be able to come and live next door to you or I?

[Treurnicht] No, we regard our own residential areas as precious for our community life, and matters such as education and schooling are also involved, so we are very jealous of our community life, and that would mean that we'll take certain measure to protect that.

[Venter] I see, so in other words we are talking about group areas or something similar, we're talking about separate schools, hospitals, recreation facilities...

[Treurnicht, interrupting] Oh, certainly.

[Venter, continues] ...which amounts to separate amenities or something in the shape of the Separate Amenities Act.

[Treurnicht] Oh, certainly. It's a matter of how you formulate your legislation, but protection for a specific community, we think that is quite obvious.

[Venter] Doctor, may I put it to you: Members of your party have been claiming that your party will not return to apartheid. Against the background of what you have just said, is that a valid claim?

[Treurnicht] Certainly. We don't intend, for instance, reintroducing, shall we say, only-for-whites on the benches or at lifts, etc., but there is such a thing as various communities and those communities have a real, genuine claim to express themselves on the social level, educational level, in their own way.

[Venter] May I put it to you this way, then: What you are saying in effect when you are saying that you will not return to apartheid, that you will not return to petty, petty apartheid? [as heard]

[Treurnicht] Well, what we have said, what we said is that we are not going to reintroduce all the particulars of legislation as it was in the past. We'll start afresh from the most important starting point and that is, to secure your right to govern yourself at the top level and also on the community level.

[Venter] Talking about government in that society, does your party accept the democratic principle of no taxation without representation?

[Treurnicht] Well, that is a genuine demand, but we say representation that presupposes a political dispensation.... [Treurnicht changes thought] We don't believe in a one man one vote system for the whole of South Africa.

[Venter] In other words black persons will not have representation in that system, and the consequence of that, according to what you are saying, is that white persons in that independent state, the white state, would have to carry the tax burden for all these separate facilities that you are going to provide for black persons resident there?

[Treurnicht] Let's just get the picture clear. We are talking about a system, and this system is a system of diversification and that means that the members of a specific ethnic community will have the right, on the basis of one man one vote, to vote for their own governments, be it local government or country government, and the same would apply to the white people; and as to taxation, that is something most definitely to be discussed and to come to an arrangement between the governments.

[Venter] Are we saying, then, that it is not clear whether the white person resident in the Volksstaat will carry the tax burden on his own or not? Is that a matter that isn't decided yet?

[Treurnicht] No, no. Those are specifics which definitely will be worked out, of course.

[Venter] But it does compromise the principle of no taxation without representation because, I mean, it is a fundamental principle that black persons will not have representation.

[Treurnicht] Well, I am correct in saying that members of other nations at this stage, in South African, pay tax. But there is an arrangement of transferring what they pay here over to their own governments.

[Venter] I see. Dr Treurnicht, running as an underlying principle between these things, we're talking about implementing a policy which necessarily affects the lives of many other people. Now, assuming that they don't like the style, the implementation, and the contents of

this policy, what would the CP's approach be to handling the protest that would result from that?

[Treurnicht] Well, of course, there are two sides to that issue, because it's not only a matter of the opinion of one community. We are also involved in the situation, and when it is in a territory which is basically recognized as white territory, of course, we have some preeminence in such an area, and especially when it is clear that members of a specific community or ethnic group are living outside their basis, their homeland. I think it's obvious that that is their basis, and that in our territory they can't claim equal representation.

[Venter] Doctor, thank you. Time dictates that that's where we will have to wrap up the English section of our interview. [passage omitted]

### De Beer Warns of Blockade Pending 'No' Vote

MB1203131692 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1203 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Text] Port Elizabeth March 12 SAPA—A blockade of South Africa was a real possibility were the "no" vote to win the March 17 referendum, the leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, said on Thursday [12 March].

Addressing a public meeting in Port Elizabeth, he said a "no" vote would not offer voters a second chance as proponents of such a vote were arguing.

"On the contrary, it will precipitate a whole host of tragic consequences."

The general election which would follow a "no" would bring to power a government led by Dr Andries Treurnicht, Mr Jaap Marais and Mr Eugene Terreblanche.

"Unless all three of these gentlemen are prepared to repudiate every word they have ever said, theirs would be a government in which they will prescribe a policy of partition and they will decide which part of South Africa is to be reserved exclusively for whites."

This would be utterly unacceptable to the whole black leadership and conflict throughout SA [South Africa] would result.

"No doubt in this conflict there will be excesses on both sides, and no-one can tell to what this could lead. Simultaneously, the repudiation and rejection of the outside world would fall upon us; diplomatic, sporting and cultural links would be broken; maximal economic sanctions would be imposed and enforced.

"Dr Treurnicht does not like it when I say that a blockade is a real possibility, but I repeat this now. That a man of his stature should describe all this as 'getting a second chance' is absolutely breathtaking."

Dr de Beer said South Africa had limitless potential, provided it had peace, prosperity and law and order.



All these things were possible and "indeed highly probable" were the "yes" vote to triumph on Tuesday [17 March].

### **Emphasizes 'Mandate' for Negotiations**

*MB1303062292 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2020 GMT 12 Mar 92*

[Text] East London March 12 SAPA—White voters disgruntled with rising unemployment, an upsurge in crime and the high inflation rate should avoid using the referendum to "teach the government a lesson", Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said in Port Alfred on Thursday [12 March].

Voters should stick to the question posed and concentrate on giving President F.W. de Klerk the mandate he was seeking to continue constitutional negotiations, he said.

His audience that as a pensioner himself, he empathised with senior citizens who had experienced a drop in living standards and were determined to strike back at the government [sentence as received].

"If the vote on Tuesday were in the form of a general election, I would be reminding you of these and other grievances and urging you to vote against the government which must be held responsible for them. But this is not what is happening," he said.

Dr de Beer attacked a theme of the CP [Conservative Party] referendum campaign—"Vote no to get a second chance"—warning that if a "no" vote prevailed and a right-wing government came into power, it would precipitate "a whole host of tragic consequences".

Conflict could break out, in which there would be "excesses on both sides", the international community would simultaneously impose economic sanctions and South Africa would face total international isolation, with diplomatic, sporting and cultural links broken off.

"We hold our own destiny in our own hands. Ours is a country of limitless potential provided we have peace, prosperity and law and order. All these things are possible...if we have a 'yes' vote."

### **\* Afrikaner Homeland Boundaries Discussed**

#### **\* Problems With Proposals**

*92AF0426A Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans  
4 Feb 92 p 9*

[Article by Francois Lotter: "Enormous Problems With These Homelands"]

[Text] The leak of a highly confidential Conservative Party [CP] document concerning a fatherland for the Afrikaner people, including 10 different maps, has raised

questions once again concerning the viability and practical application of such a sprawling country for the Afrikaner. Francois Lotter has gathered together the opinions of the experts.

One particular aspect that raises questions concerning the vulnerability of all the homelands being presented is the large number of borders, narrow corridors, and in many cases numbers of scattered entities. These are things that may very well lead to conflict in the future and could perhaps plunge the Afrikaner people into a permanent state of border wars.

Among other items set forth in the secret document is a much-publicized plan authorizing the development of a district between Welkom, Johannesburg, and Secunda as a free, autonomic, and viable state within a homeland.

Demographic and political experts are agreed that all 10 of the maps presented, as well as the one which the document considers "the most likely region," will create great problems for their future inhabitants.

Although the feeling exists that a homeland might work, the experts are of the opinion that this will be the case in South Africa only if it can be forced on the citizenry by a strong government and if it satisfies the internationally acceptable requirements that national boundaries must meet.

Not one of the maps passes this test. Someone, somewhere, will still have to come forward with a better proposal.

Professor Willie Breytenbach, professor of African politics at the University of Stellenbosch and former lecturer in ethnology at the University of Pretoria, says that it is important for a nation's borders to be defensible and clearly defined, so that it at least can resist the test of international border disputes.

Not one of the maps satisfies these basic requirements.

According to Prof. Breytenbach, boundaries are one of the most frequent causes of conflict in Africa, although the boundaries of African nations are rather clearly drawn.

If the boundaries of a nation are contested, this will remain a question forever and may cause conflict that will plague future generations of that country forever, as is presently the case with Israel.

Prof. Breytenbach believes that having a homeland of one's own is a workable solution, but then all the parties must be in agreement at least with respect to where the borders are. Most of the 10 proposals have a black power base in the Transvaal, however, and the old republics of the Free State and Vryheid. In general, these are districts to which no white claims existed before 1850

There is nothing like a clear and universally acknowledged white unity in South Africa. Prof. Carel Boshoff's

Orange Homeland concept is perhaps the most acceptable solution, containing the fewest problems for a future Afrikaner nation.

Dr. Skip Krige, senior lecturer in political geography in the geography department of the Free State University, says that in fixing the boundaries of any country, the ultimate concern will be to determine which boundaries will be the "friendliest."

Here one thinks of natural boundaries such as mountains, rivers, lakes, and the sea. Mountains are an ideal example of "friendly" borders because the population density there is usually far less, and possible conflict can be ruled out.

There are few such friendly borders on any of the 10 proposed maps or the so-called "most likely district."

According to Dr. Krige, the first great requirement to satisfy when borders are being determined is access to a harbor. This is probably the only requirement that all the maps do satisfy.

Borders can also be determined geometrically. This means tracing out lines of demarcation according to a degree of longitude or latitude. Such borders, however, are not "friendly borders" and in cases of high population density, they have enormous potential for conflict. One example is the Middle East.

This could also become a major problem in any of the proposed homelands.

According to Dr. Krige, ethnicity or culture will play the predominant role in determining the boundaries of a homeland. It will therefore be important to determine borders in such a way as to render impossible any future conflict between groups separated along ethnic or cultural lines.

Furthermore, it is also important that any region be a geographical, compact, and centered unit, as is Zimbabwe. This rules out long borders such as the Caprivi Strip in northern Namibia.

Prof. Japie Le Roux, professor of physical geography in the same department, says that if a government has enough power, in a country like America, for example, it can locate its boundaries anywhere and draw lines on a map wherever it wishes. It can then simply force its boundaries down everyone else's throat.

Such a situation, however, does not hold true in South Africa. Control of power is being negotiated as we speak, as a matter of fact. For this reason, a different approach to determining boundaries must be followed.

Natural boundaries such as mountain ranges, the sea, or even a river, are ideal. A river may shift, however, or perhaps even disappear entirely, which then in the future could cause enormous border problems.

Prof. Le Roux says that the proposed narrow homelands will cause interminable problems. Just look at the problems of cattle rustling and other kinds of thievery that farmers in the eastern Free State are now experiencing because of their proximity to Lesotho. How much greater will the problems be where a simple barbed-wire fence is all that marks the border.

Prof. Andries Raath, chairman of the standing committee for political affairs and one of the drafters of the confidential rightist document dealing with an Afrikaner homeland, concurs with the opinion that the geographical specifications of any future Afrikaner nation will have to reckon with the realities of demography, population, and politics in South Africa.

According to Prof. Boshoff, his district is the only one that, despite its short-term political troubles, remains a part of the long-term solution.

Prof. Raath says that the borders of a homeland will ultimately have to be clarified by means of talks with representatives of all ethnic groups. If people think that the establishment of borders can be done unilaterally, great problems await them on that score.

According to these and other experts, it is clear that although a homeland may work out, a great deal of homework will still have to be done by its supporters.

Last week ANC [African National Congress] circles were making sounds to the effect that they could accept a homeland. This points to the fact that the ideals of the so-called "homelanders" cannot be summarily written off.

A separate homeland could be a reality for them and even be positively accepted at the negotiations table. But then it will have to look different from any of the maps that have thus far been designed.

#### \* Negative Reaction

92AF0426B Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans  
28 Jan 92 p 5

[Article by Carolien Saayman: "Less Enthusiasm for Rightist Money-Making Territory"]

[Text] The new rightist plan to bring into existence a so-called money-making territory between Welkom, Johannesburg, and Secunda was received without much enthusiasm yesterday.

BEELD published a report yesterday detailing a rightist plan to offer that territory as a sweetheart deal to "foreigners."

Professor Deon Geldenhuys of the Rand Afrikaner University (RAU) flatly labeled this a "political gimmick." According to him there is not the "slightest chance" for rightists to sell this plan except to their own rank and file.

According to him the approximately 1.2 percent [of their land] that the rightists are willing to give up under the

terms of the plan in order to develop a free and viable nation is not enough to keep the blacks satisfied.

He believes that political thinking on the subject of self-determination is presently developing in two directions, namely the idea of a white homeland, as espoused by Professor Carel Boshoff, and the idea of autonomous groups within a federated nation.

"This sort of 'cut and paste' drawing of boundaries whereby the country is broken up into minuscule states does not stand much of a chance of being taken seriously in political circles," he said.

Dr. Poen Coetzee, of the political science department at Potchefstroom University, said that it will be difficult to convince people to relocate of their own free will to such a money-making territory.

"People who are already making a good living in another place are not going to move just like that. Furthermore, it will take years before the viability of such a territory can be substantiated."

#### \* SACP's Strength, Objectives Discussed

92AF0495A London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL  
in English 7 Feb 92 pp 2-3

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] Flying in the face of international trends, the South African Communist Party (SACP) has emerged re-invigorated and with a growing roster of young members after events of the past five years. Its strongest recruiting point is the conception—widely held in the townships—that apartheid is umbilically joined to capitalism. The apparently apathetic attitude of South African business to social investment and even to training schemes further helps the SACP's recruitment.

Up from its grassroots strengths, through its cross-membership with the national executive committees of the African National Congress (ANC) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the party wields considerable influence in negotiations with the government, including via the Conference for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa). For example, SACP pressure bumped Thabo Mbeki out of the ANC negotiating team at Codesa. (He had been an SACP member but had long ceased to be active in the party). The SACP strength in COSATU will be particularly important as the trade unions formulate their longer-term strategy to take account of an ANC presence in government.

The Party has shown it means business by withdrawing its major asset in the ANC, Chris Hani, to focus, as its new General Secretary, on the SACP's organisation and survival. Contrary to the assessment by countless pundits, his election is a strategic SACP calculation that could prove useful when communism's worldwide fortunes have reached their nadir.

By latching itself to the political fortunes of the ANC's leading populist, the Party may reap a windfall: it can now count on the support of the retinue of militant Hani loyalists in the movement's youth and labour wings. This is the ANC's most numerous and mobilised constituency, whose voice matters in ANC political life, especially at Congresses. The Party seems to be pursuing a twin strategy vis-a-vis the ANC. One track is the remaking of its image as a high visibility organisation powered by Hani's popularity; the other is to leave a corps of some of its best cadres, such as Peter Mayibuye and Cheryl Carolus, entrenched in key ANC decision-making bodies.

The SACP's objective is to keep the ANC a radical leftist organisation whose programme would be consistent with the Party's long-term goal of a communist South Africa. There was alarm within SACP ranks after ANC President Nelson Mandela said during his recent visit to the United States that the movement was rethinking its position on the nationalisation of the economy's commanding heights. Party spokesmen were quick to point out that such a revision of policy could be made only at an ANC National Congress. The Party is counting on the general dominance of ANC branches by militant youth and on Hani's charisma, which would virtually ensure the failure of revisionist measures that do not have full SACP support.

The critical arena for the battle between revisionists and hardliners such as Hani will be that of policy. The Party is fighting for the survival and retention of the Freedom Charter as the basic ANC programme. The Charter, which espouses radical transformation in the economic area, is the lynchpin of Party influence in the ANC. Hani recently warned that any tinkering with ANC policies as enshrined in the Charter would lead to communists such as himself reassessing their future role in the ANC.

The Party held its eighth congress on 4 December 1991—the first since the SACP was legalised and went partially public in 1990, and the first inside South Africa. It was marked by an unbendingly militant posture and rhetoric. Conference deliberations were presaged by a savage attack on Mikhail Gorbachev by new Party Chairperson Joe Slovo, who accused the former Soviet leader and ally of losing his way in the reform process and behaving in a Stalinist fashion in his decision to dissolve the Party as if it was his personal property. That set the tone of the conference, which went on to reject any name change for the SACP. A proposal that the Party adopt the slogan 'Democratic Socialism' was voted down on the grounds that the word 'democratic' was tautological since socialism was inherently democratic. Both proposals had enjoyed the support of both Hani and Slovo, showing how the Party's partial democratisation has in fact hardened its posture: in the old days, the Politburo would have been able to push through such changes unopposed.

The new SACP Central Committee elected by the 413 delegates to the conference is:

Joe Slovo: Chairman. Member of the ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) and outgoing party General



Secretary, Slovo had served as SACP Chairman from 1984-86, becoming General Secretary in 1986 after the death of Moses Mabhida.

Raymond Mhlaba: Deputy Chairman. Member of ANC NEC. He was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964 at the famous Rivonia trial, together with Nelson Mandela. He had succeeded Mandela as Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK)'s [Spear of the Nation] commander in chief after Mandela's arrest in 1962.

Chris Hani: General Secretary. Member of ANC NEC, formerly MK chief of staff. Will make up in passionate commitment and populism what he lacks as a theoretician.

Charles Nqakula: Deputy General Secretary. A protege of Hani, former United Democratic Front (UDF) National Executive member. Left the country in 1984, joined the party in 1985. Served as Regional Political Committee (RPMC) chief in Lesotho, also served in Operation Vula in July 1990 (AC Vol 31 No 22). Nqakula has a disdain for political theory and elocution and is generally militaristic. He has probably never read Marx, let alone Gramsci, Luxemburg or Habermas. His forte is impeccable organisational skill. Ran unsuccessfully for ANC NEC in July.

Kay Moonsammy: Treasurer—was South African Congress of Trades Unions (SACTU, the exiled Trade Union organisation, dissolved in 1990) treasurer until 1986. Left SACTU to head ANC Treasury finance department; is a skilled 'money changer' who will serve the Party well in the lean years following the collapse of its major backer, the Soviet Union.

Jeremy Cronin: Leading Party intellectual, member of ANC NEC. Has a Catholic background and trained as a priest. Studied in Paris and taught philosophy at University of Cape Town until he left the country in 1987.

Ronnie Kasrils: Member of ANC NEC; MK military intelligence chief. Tough and popular with the radical grassroots.

Chris Dlamini: COSATU vice president; member of the Party's interim leadership group.

Sidney Mufamadi: ANC NEC member, former assistant Secretary General of COSATU. Formerly member of Party's interim leadership group.

John Gomomo: COSATU President, former member of Party's interim leadership group.

John Nkadimeng: ANC NEC member, former General Secretary of SACTU. A long-time Party politburo member.

Billy Nair: ANC NEC, spent 20 years on Robben Island; Operation Vula operative, long-time Party politburo member.

Moses Mayekiso: General Secretary of COSATU's biggest affiliate National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA), formerly member of interim leadership group; ran unsuccessfully for ANC NEC.

Blade Nzimande: top Party official in Natal, although a relative newcomer to SACP. Has just finished PhD in industrial psychology at the University of Natal. Ran unsuccessfully for ANC NEC.

Harry Gwala: ANC NEC, head of ANC's Natal Midlands region. Party's leading Stalinist; applauded the August coup in Moscow.

Sizakele Sigxashe: ANC intelligence analysis chief; Stalinist, nicknamed Beria because of his penchant for using intelligence data to neutralise opponents. Voted off the ANC NEC at the July Congress. Became a member of Party politburo in 1985 to replace Josiah Jele who was demoted after losing a power struggle.

Essop Pahad: PhD from Leeds University; for years was Party representative at the World Marxist Review in Prague and former party treasurer. Brother of Aziz Pahad (a member of ANC NEC). Member of previous central committee.

Geraldine Frazer-Moleketi: SACP head office administrator.

Raymond Suttner: ANC NEC and head of ANC political education department. Law professor at University of Witwatersrand; spent about seven years in prison in the 1970s for Party activities, with Jeremy Cronin, with whom he later wrote the book "25 Years of the Freedom Charter."

Jenny Schreiner: comes from a prominent intellectual background; grandmother Olive Schreiner corresponded with Karl Marx regularly. Was member of ANC underground in Cape Town; arrested in 1987. Tried in the marathon Yengeni trial.

Tony Yengeni: ANC NEC, Western Cape ANC regional secretary. Co-accused with Jenny Schreiner.

Sam Shilowa: new COSATU assistant General Secretary.

January Masilela: Also known as Che Ogara, MK regional commissar in Angola, later head of RPMC in Botswana.

Garth Strachan: SACP Western Cape regional organiser, son-in-law of Ronnie Kasrils.

Thenjiwe Mthintso: a former lieutenant of the late Steve Biko. For a long time campaigned against the ANC-SACP alliance, finally joined the ANC in 1980 and SACP in 1986. Comes from the Black Consciousness tradition and was not trusted by the Party for a long time on account of her suspect ideological tradition.

Stan Nkosi: full time ANC official in Johannesburg.

Brian Bunting: former editor of SACP journal AFRICAN COMMUNIST; son of founder member of the Party Sidney Bunting; member of previous central committee.

Govan Mbeki: Rivonia trialist, father of Thabo Mbeki, and a long-time central committee member.

Matthew Makalima: Party official in the Western Cape.

Nosizwe Madlala: former head of Natal Organisation of Women.

This is a talented team drawn from across the spectrum of South African resistance politics. COSATU is a veritable fief of the Party which gives it an edge in the ANC-SACP-COSATU alliance. COSATU General Secretary Jay Naidoo is surrounded by party placemen.

The SACP does not appear to have an independent position on the unfolding talks beyond that of the ANC. It represents the radical strain in ANC thinking. According to Chris Hani, the Party's aim is: 'to hold the ANC to radical ideas on socio-economic matters' such as nationalisation and a thorough transformation of the economy. They are the guardians of 'political correctness' in the ANC. Beyond that the Party's role remains unclear.

#### \* Lottery System for Military Service Considered

92AF0424D Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans  
28 Jan 92 p 2

[Article by political correspondent: "Military Service Might Be Replaced by Lottery System"]

[Text] Cape Town—A lottery system is one of the possibilities being considered for national military service, said Mr. Roelf Meyer, minister of defense, yesterday during a news conference.

Minister Meyer stated that people remain the greatest need of the Armed Forces. Approximately 10,000 conscripts and volunteers are being deployed daily. Military service remains a significant source of labor, and this will have to continue in the short term. Later this week he will speak comprehensively about the military service in parliament.

To a question on the possibility of a coup in South Africa, Minister Meyer stated that he had no doubt about the loyalty of the top leaders of the Armed Forces. There is no indication of the possibility of a civil war in the country either.

#### South African Press Review for 13 Mar

MB1303131392

[Editorial Report]

#### THE STAR

Greater Effort Needed Into Train Attacks Inquiries—  
"The pattern has almost become established: Whenever a major political development or peace initiative is in the offing, faceless men appear, spreading anarchy and terror," begins a page 14 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 13 March. "Unhappily, it is not surprising that violence has erupted in Soweto, Alexandra and elsewhere on the Reef in the run-up to the referendum." Despite past experience, the police "are

still not establishing the necessary presence at railway stations and on trains that might have deterred some of the savage attacks of this week." "No one expects miracles overnight, but the Government needs to make far greater efforts to find out who is behind the violence and why. The BBC this week made serious allegations of security force involvement in the ongoing carnage. All such allegations should be put before the Goldstone commission with minimum delay."

#### BUSINESS DAY

Rightists Play on 'Anxiety' of White Voters—  
"Advocates of the 'no' vote are becoming increasingly shrill in their warnings; they shriek of betrayal of whites and a sacrifice of the country to communism if the decision goes in favour of President De Klerk's reform programme and the negotiations already in progress," notes a page 16 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 13 March. "It is a clever play on the anxiety of white voters about change and its uncertain outcome." "It must be acknowledged that 'white fears' are real, and that when issues are blurred in a climate of political and criminal violence, and of economic deprivation, the appeal of a return to the 'safety' of familiar old ways can be hard to resist. The fallacy is that this can be achieved by voting 'no'."

#### SOWETAN

Buthelezi Attacks De Klerk—"Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's equivocal stand on Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa], the referendum and the rightwing at the opening of the KwaZulu legislative assembly this week raises many unsettling questions," states a page 8 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 13 March. "The referendum, in spite of its ethnic confines, has united democratically-minded South Africans across a wide spectrum on the need for a 'yes' mandate for reform and negotiations. Yet Buthelezi sees it fit to raise the ANC [African National Congress] bogey in the minds of whites in an attack on President F.W. de Klerk." Buthelezi should note "he is not advancing the cause of his constituency if he is forever seen as the 'petulant child' of South African politics."

#### THE WEEKLY MAIL

Unionists To 'Open Up' Codesa—Drew Forrest writes in an article on page 19 of Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English for 13-19 March, that business spokesmen and the government, "misread the Congress of South African Trade Unions' [COSATU] weekend press conference. It all sounded very militant, and alarmingly insensitive to white fears in the run-up to the referendum." "But behind the sound and fury is the undeniable fact that the unions have upheld the African National Congress' line on the referendum, essentially one of non-involvement, doing no more than give it a new and more militant flavour." "Throughout the past two years, it has served as the ANC's conscience, goad and muscular left arm. Through its proposed mass action, it aims to open up Codesa, 'take it to the streets',

by linking negotiations with a popular base. Unionists have consistently resisted the drift towards closed-door consultations between political leaders."

**Warning Against Referendum Voting Abstention**—"The Conservative Party [CP] is not a political movement—it is a kind of organised hallucination," declares the page 30 editorial. "But the same contempt for the real world, and for the concerns of ordinary people, is shown by liberals and leftists who are contemplating a 'principled' boycott of next week's white referendum." However, "no one really knows how whites, and particularly English-speaking whites, will vote, and there are ominous signs that the size of the anti-reform groundswell has been underestimated. In this context, every ballot paper may count." "Of the conscientious abstainers, who proudly trumpet their refusal to touch a racist poll, we would ask: What point are you making? And who will applaud your delicate scruples if the referendum is lost?" "Abstention, given the very real threat to Codesa, to the fragile growth of human rights and to economic recovery, represents a kind of moral narcissism which puts personal purity above the general good."

#### NEW NATION

**Referendum 'A Necessary Evil'**—Johannesburg NEW NATION in English for 13-19 March in a page 12 editorial says: "It may well be that the referendum is a necessary evil we have had to go through in order to lay claim to democracy, because ultimately, this referendum will decide the very basic question that faces this country—whether we are going to have democracy or a fascist dictatorship." "In a practical sense, this is the first occasion when the majority of whites have been called upon to fight for democracy, and its about time too, because thousands of black South Africans have died in the course of fighting for democracy." "A yes vote is important for the country but such a vote must have the effect of subjecting De Klerk to the democratic process and not to turn him into a king."

#### BEELD

**AWB To 'Manipulate' Conservative Party**—"An advertisement placed in yesterday's daily newspapers posed a very serious question concerning the Conservative Party

[CP] as senior party in the referendum no-alliance. It shows a photo of a masked man, one finger curled around the trigger of a revolver and on his shoulder the well-known cross of the Afrikaner Resistance Movement [AWB]," begins a page 10 editorial in Afrikaans in BEELD on 11 March. At the 7 March right-wing gathering on Church Square in Pretoria the AWB "overshadowed the CP and the Reformed National Party [HNP] with their uniforms, horses and intimidation. The nice sounding words of Dr. Andries Treurnicht disappears completely alongside the roaring and posturing of Mr. Terreblanche and his Nazi-type comrades." "The CP should not pretend to support peaceful negotiation politics because that is not the AWB's policy and it will never be." "Ironically these are the same people accusing the National Party of collusion with communists. It seems that the CP is so paranoid about communism, definitely a dying ideology, that it cannot see the danger posed by its own allies." "Should South Africa's future be placed in the hands of a sinister force who is in a position to ingeniously manipulate naive CP members." "What does the English electorate say about what hides behind the friendly no-image? These questions must also be answered on 17 March."

**'Poor' U.S. Reaction To CIS Plight**—"American reaction to the plight of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] has been extremely poor so far," notes a second editorial on the same page. "Former President Richard Nixon has rightly indicated that all the democratic progress in the CIS could be lost if the region is not helped to recover economically. Observers believe that the problem lies in the growing isolationism in the United States. It is, for example, noticeable that foreign affairs is only playing a microscopic role in the current presidential elections. In addition, there is a growing feeling in the United States against foreign development aid. In the aftermath of the collapse of communism the Americans feel that the outside world should solve its own problems and that American money should be used for internal prosperity. The result is that proposals to assist the CIS and other former Eastern Bloc countries financially with their difficult reform processes, are not finding favor among the electorate. The heaviest load is resting on the shoulders of western Europe, especially Germany. It is disturbing that America appears to be backing off all the more from its international responsibility."



## Angola

### PLO Leader 'Arafat Arrives on Two-Day Visit

LD1203165592 Lisbon RDP Internacional in Portuguese 1013 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Excerpt] PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat is now in Luanda on a two-day visit to Angola. President Jose Eduardo dos Santos welcomed Yasir 'Arafat at the 4 February International Airport with honors accorded to heads of state. European and Sub-Saharan Africa diplomatic corps were not present.

Today, Yasir 'Arafat is due to meet the Angolan president. [passage omitted]

### Minister on UNITA's Involvement in 'Massacre'

MB1303071192 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Interview with Joao Miranda, deputy foreign minister for the Angolan communities abroad, by Radio Luanda reporter Pedro Manuel in Luanda on 12 March—recorded]

[Text] In Luanda today, Joao Miranda, deputy foreign minister for Angolan communities abroad, confirmed the accusation by the Angolan Democratic Forum, FDA, that last month the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA, participated in the massacre of people who demonstrated in Kinshasa in favor of the resumption of the national conference.

[Begin recording] [Miranda] In fact, we received information that UNITA soldiers also participated in the massacre perpetrated against the people on 16 February. The Zairian newspapers have referred to that with big headlines. The opposition has openly accused UNITA of it. We have learned that, because the whole thing coincided with a statement by the UNITA president during his visit to Kinshasa that the sovereign national conference was a waste of time, the Zairian population looted the UNITA hospital in Kinshasa. The hospital was completely destroyed in retaliation for Mr. Savimbi's statement and [words indistinct] the UNITA soldiers' eventual participation in the 16 February massacre.

[Manuel] Thus, Mr. Deputy Minister, there is confirmation that UNITA did in fact participate in the Kinshasa massacre of 16 February?

[Miranda] It is the opposition and the Zairian newspapers who have made the accusation.

[Manuel] What sources are available to you, Mr. Minister?

[Miranda] Those are sources.... [Miranda changes thought] Obviously, our embassy is in touch with those

sources and with events in Kinshasa, and [words indistinct] that we have here, statements by Zairian (?commission leaders), as well as other statements on the issue.

[Manuel] So, Mr. Deputy Minister, despite [words indistinct] the accusations by the FDA are based on truth?

[Miranda] Logically.

[Manuel] Also in addition to that accusation, Angolan citizens (?in Zaire) have been suffering intimidation. Is there any information regarding that?

[Miranda] Intimidation arises precisely from those accusations that Angolan citizens have participated in the massacre of Zairians. The UNITA soldiers are Angolan citizens. That is why Zairians are retaliating against Angolans. That is why it is happening. [end recording]

### CCPM Spokesman on Troop Demobilization Process

MB1303092592 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 12 Mar 92

["Excerpts" of statement by Dr. Antonio Franco, spokesman for the 33d session of the Joint Political and Military Commission in Luanda on 12 Mar]

[Text] The Joint Political and Military Commission, CCPM, announced in Luanda today that material conditions have been created for the implementation at the end of this month of the military demobilization process and the selection of the troops that will form the new Angolan Armed Forces, the FAA. This was revealed by Dr. Antonio Franco, spokesman for the CCPM's 33d session:

[Begin Franco recording] We intend to start the military demobilization process toward the end of this month or perhaps the beginning of April. This follows the stabilization of the troop confinement process. Today, we can see that the Angolan Government has confined some 56 percent of its troops. The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA, has about 94 percent of its forces confined. Those percentages reflect an increase of 1,800 men on the Angolan Government's side, and some 200 on the UNITA side. Thus, though the troop confinement process is not over yet, we are in a position to start the military demobilization process. The CCPM believes that this process should be implemented with the greatest urgency [words indistinct] simultaneously, we would like to start selecting the new FAA personnel. [end recording]

Dr. Antonio Franco justified the imbalance in the numbers of confined Angolan Government and UNITA troops in the following manner:

[Begin Franco recording] That is an imbalance that has been maintained over the last few months. There have been fluctuations, though—there was one such fluctuation during the Christmas season. This imbalance is caused by the logistical difficulties confronting each of

the sides. Obviously, the Angolan Government faces greater difficulties, because it has a greater number of men (?to feed). In addition, there is the very nature of the troops, their differences, and their past habits, which were also somewhat different. That imbalance in the numbers of confined troops is a result of the above factors. We have not detected.... [Framco changes thought] The Angolan Government has been having difficulties in confining its troops, but the CCPM does not believe it reflects any intentional behavior that could be described as less than correct. [end recording]

CCPM Spokesman Dr. Antonio Franco also said that the prisoner of war release process could resume soon.

[Begin Franco Recording] I think that the prisoner of war release issue is so sensitive, particularly to those people at large who have relatives or friends in detention, that I believe we must be as clear as possible about it. At the moment, we are involved in the [words indistinct] prisoner releases. On one hand, we have or, should I say, the [name indistinct] has the government's reply. I do not think it has the UNITA reply yet, but it is expected that [words indistinct] regarding the two prisoners who are in the Joint Verification and Control Commission, CMVF, post in Jamba, we did not discuss that issue in depth today. We only touched on it. The CCPM has told the Political Commission and the Technical Group for Prisoner Affairs to analyze the problem. [end recording]

### 3,000 Slated for Demobilization

MB1303094792 Luanda Radio Nacional Network  
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Excerpt] Reports from Huambo Province say that some 3,000 People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, FAPLA, soldiers could be demobilized soon in that military area.

Colonel Jose Manuel, commander for the Huambo military area, reported that during a news conference yesterday. He said that the troops to be demobilized during this first stage have already been registered and are awaiting the finalization of the process.

A total of 2,000 soldiers have been registered for demobilization in the Cruzeiro troop confinement area, 450 in [name indistinct], and 600 in Bailundo. [passage omitted]

### \* Training of Officers for New Army Continues

92AF0442A Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese  
15 Feb 92 p B1

[Text] Today in Huambo the first 50 officers of the new Angolan Armed Forces [FAA]—as stipulated in the Estoril Accords—will take an oath of "allegiance" to the fatherland, defense of freedom, and independence.

The oath intentionally precludes any reference to the Constitution and flag, since the Angolan Constitution and future flag are to be defined by the government

subsequent to the elections. The ceremonies will be attended by representatives of the CCFA (Joint Commission for the Creation of the Angolan Armed Forces), the Superior Command of the new Army, and the CCPM (Joint Political-Military Commission). The Portuguese military representatives will be headed by General Tome Pinto and the political representatives by Ambassador Antonio Vitor Monteiro.

The arrangement suggested by the Portuguese team was discussed during the entire week.

The first group of officers, made up of about 28 members of the Portuguese military, will subsequently train a second group of instructors for the new Angolan Army. The 50 Angolan officers will give instructions in two centers: one in Huambo for officers and the other in Benguela for noncommissioned officers. The Portuguese team, arriving in Angola in November of last year, is composed of captains and other high-ranking officers and is being coordinated by Brig. Gen. Goncalves Aranha. This team will continue to give technical assistance to the new Angolan instructors.

Tomorrow the first two professors from the Institute of Higher Military Studies [IAEM] will arrive in Luanda. They will be giving a technical seminar at the Huambo Military School [EMH] on the training of officers for the Angolan Armed Forces General Staff [EMFAA].

The instruction of general-staff officers will subsequently be given in Luanda where a Higher Military Institute [ISM] is being established. This school, whose impetus was given by the IAEM, will cover more territory inasmuch as its curriculum will involve all three branches of the FAA. This arrangement was suggested to the Portuguese by the Angolan authorities last October.

### Nogueira in Luanda

Meanwhile, Portuguese Defense Minister Fernando Nogueira is scheduled to arrive in Luanda on Monday. He is planning to hold meetings with military and political leaders representing both countries.

The Portuguese minister's visit is being made at the invitation of the Angolan Government, and it is hoped that this will result in greater military cooperation between Portugal and Angola.

France and Great Britain have proved to be extremely active, especially with regard to an attempt to supply new military equipment to the FAA in keeping with the Estoril Accords. Diplomatic sources in Luanda are hoping that Fernando Nogueira's visit will result in greater technical cooperation between our two countries, thus compensating for the increasing influence which other countries, particularly France and Spain, are trying to achieve in Angola.

The military—inclined to curtail the delays incurred throughout the past five months—have decided not to recruit new enlistees upon termination of the present

cantonment inasmuch as the proposals made by Portugal in this respect preclude the billeting of members of the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] and the FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] who are then scheduled to return to the FAA.

#### \* French Loans, Military Cooperation Viewed

92AF0442C Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese  
7 Feb 92 p 6

[Article by M.S.]

[Text] While Portugal talks, the French make their presence known in Luanda.

The Central Fund for Economic Cooperation (CCCE), an organization of the French Government whose mission is to aid developing countries, has granted Angola four loans totaling 308 million francs (7.9 million contos).

The first loan in the amount of 58 million francs (1.5 million contos) is to be made available to the fishing sector. According to the CCCE, Angola's fishing resources amount to 650,000 tons per year, while the catches do not presently exceed 330,000 tons per year; and of this amount only 110,000 tons per year are attributable to the country's domestic fleet. The current project for developing Angola's fishing industry involves satisfying the protein needs of the inhabitants of the Luanda area, that is to say, approximately 2.5 million people.

The two aspects of the project, whose cost in foreign currency will be financed by the CCCE, concern: first, the restoration and equipping of the Luanda port and, secondly, improvement in the distribution of the fish, thanks to the acquisition of equipment on the part of the sellers, both wholesalers and retailers.

The National Bank of Angola (BNA) will participate in the cost of the project to the tune of approximately 430,000 contos.

The CCCE also granted a second loan of 65 million francs (1.7 million contos) whose purpose is to enable the BNA to refinance the credits granted by the commercial bank to private industrial companies.

The third loan, in the amount of 15 million francs (380,000 contos), represents a supplement to a loan granted by the CCCE in 1988 designed to cover the cost in foreign currency of a program involving the construction of housing for French cooperatives.

Lastly, CCCE will finance a loan of 170 million francs (4.3 million contos) for the cost in foreign currency of the second phase of the Angosat project, the National Telecommunications Network by Satellite, whose first phase was the subject of an initial loan of 190 million francs (4.8 million contos) authorized in July 1991.

The CCCE explains that the installation of functional systems of communication between Luanda and the principal localities of the province requires urgent political and economic action and that the technology of space communications, less expensive and offering greater confidence than that of traditional terrestrial systems, will make it possible to offset the province's isolation from the capital's decision-making centers.

#### Military Cooperation

France, which, jointly with Portugal and Great Britain, is expected to carry out the organization of the new Angolan Armed Forces [FAA], has the intention of playing a major role in this sphere, one which at the same time will enable it to strengthen its influence in southern Africa.

The priority of the French military mission in Angola will be that of guaranteeing the stability and security of the institutions. For this reason the French military plans to offer advice on the training of the national police force as well as of a special unit designed to protect the Angolan leaders.

The French General Staff, which has already prepared a plan for military cooperation with Angola, has always been mindful of the priority aspect of military cooperation between Angola and Portugal, a spirit of cooperation based on innumerable historic, economic, and cultural factors. But the French military also believes that France in turn has a number of important hypotheses.

In the first place, there is knowledge of the French language and culture on the part of the Angolan elite (Jonas Savimbi received his schooling from the University of Geneva....)

Another aspect which could act in favor of French interests is that of the successes obtained by large French companies which have been in operation in Angola for a long time: Paribas (banking), Bouygues (offshore petroleum), Dumez (civil construction), and, principally, ELF [Gasoline and Lubricants Company of France] and Total (petroleum).

From the diplomatic aspect, France will not fail to remind the Angolan leaders that it has always lent diplomatic support to the initiatives of their government, particularly favoring Angola's admittance into the International Monetary Fund and access to other sources of investment. In addition to this, the fact that the leader of the "Third Angolan Force," Holden Roberto, chose France as his place of exile indicates something....

One of the essential keys to French success in Angola in the military sphere is, however, the good understanding which the French military and cooperatives promote among their Portuguese and British colleagues, since any lack of cooperation among the three countries would be disastrous for all interested parties.



**\* Portuguese Firm Investment Activities Noted**

92AF0442B Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese  
7 Feb 92 p 6

[Article by I.O.]

[Excerpt] Strengthening of capital in two phases, with the entry of new shareholders.

A. de Matos, a firm associated with the GAP, SGPS [expansion unknown] group, plans to invest 1 million contos in Angola in farming and cattle-raising projects. In this connection, it is arranging a number of "joint ventures" with local firms.

A source from the firm's administration told O JORNAL that A. de Matos is planning to increase the share capital from 250,000 to 550,000 contos and that this new amount will be totally underwritten by the holding company.

This is to be followed by a second increase which will bring the total share capital to 800,000 contos; and this in turn will be underwritten by two Angolan firms, one of whose capital will be controlled by Tabaqueira, a firm which recently obtained financing from the GAP, SGPS group.

Tabaqueira's entry into the group was recently decided by the General Assembly which approved an increase in GAP, SGPS capital from 600,000 to 800,000 contos; this action was taken for the purpose of providing for reserves; further action of this sort will lead to still another increase bringing the total to 1.6 million contos.

Tabaqueira will underwrite 560,000 new shares, remaining in the same position as that of the present hard core of the holding company; this will reduce its participation to 35 percent. The remaining 30 percent of the capital will be spread among the public. This operation will be considered definite and will be transacted by the Mello Bank.

According to the same source, Tabaqueira was chosen because, on the one hand, this company has already expressed its intention to diversify its activity to include the farming and cattle-raising sector and, on the other, because it has a favorable reputation in Angola, thus making it easier for A. de Matos to carry out its projects in that market.

**Project With Endiama**

Investments in that former Portuguese colony will involve a number of areas, according to the same source; but two in particular deserve special attention: the restocking of animals, involving the development of genetic technology for the production of better strains in the hog species, and the construction and operability of industrial units for meat processing.

The first phase of these projects contemplates an investment of about \$7 million, about 1 million contos; and

it is hoped that A. de Matos will finance about 25 percent of this sum with its own capital.

The remainder will be financed with capital from the future partners in Angola, although some assistance will be given by the World Bank and the European Community in the form of a sinking fund calling for a portion of the financing to be arranged through subsidies.

One of the projects will involve a "joint venture" with Endiama, Angolan Diamond Enterprise; this merger will call for the stocking of 750 hogs for reproduction and marketing. The site for this arrangement has not yet been selected.

Another project is being carried out in the Lubango area; this involves an industrial facility already in operation; its purpose is to increase the facility's meat-processing capability. [passage omitted]

**Malawi****President Denounces Catholic Bishops, Letter**

MB1303062092 Blantyre Malawi Broadcasting  
Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Excerpt] His excellency the life president, Ngwazi [Paramount Chief] Dr. Kaumuzu, has said he is happy that ordinary Catholics in the country are behind him. The life president was speaking at his [word indistinct] residence in Lilongwe today when members of the regional party committee in the center and district party and civic leaders for Lilongwe District separately called on him.

Commenting on the pastoral letter by the Catholic bishops in Malawi, the life president said he was deeply shocked to see that the very bishops who had called on him earlier to pay (?tribute) to all the development taking place in the country, later [words indistinct]. The Ngwazi said what the bishops had done was double crossing [words indistinct].

The life president recalled that during the colonial days the Catholic bishops had supported the federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and took no part in (?fighting) [words indistinct] today the Catholic bishops [words indistinct]. The life president observed that [words indistinct] there would be no African bishops [words indistinct]. The life president said for this reason, the Malawian bishops should be grateful to him for breaking the federation.

His excellency the life president however said he is happy to learn that the ordinary people in the Catholic Church do not agree with what the bishops wrote in the pastoral letter. He therefore said that this shows that the people of this country are not stupid. [passage on regional officials thanking Banda omitted]

**Congress Party Condemns Bishops' Pastoral Letter**

*MB1203202892 Blantyre Malawi Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 12 Mar 92*

[Text] The Malawi Congress Party has condemned unreservedly the attempt by the bishops of the Catholic Church in Malawi to sow seeds of confusion to disturb the peace, stability, progress, and hard-won freedom of the country which have been achieved under the wise and dynamic leadership of his excellency the life president, Ngwazi [Paramount Chief] Dr. Kamuzu Banda.

A communique issued today at the party's headquarters in Lilongwe said the condemnation was made at an extraordinary meeting of the Malawi Congress Party yesterday which was attended by members of the National Executive Committee of the Malawi Congress Party, cabinet ministers, and deputy ministers, the speaker of the National Assembly, regional committee members in the party, district chairmen, secretaries, and treasurers of the Malawi Congress Party, the League of Malawi Women, and the League of Malawi Youth, members of parliament, and mayors of cities and municipal councils.

The communique said the extraordinary meeting was held in order for the Malawi Congress Party officials and members of parliament to discuss the contents of the pastoral letter written and signed by the bishops of the Catholic Church in Malawi which was read at most Catholic churches in Malawi on Sunday, the 8th of March, 1992.

The communique said at the meeting, the delegates were briefed on the background event at the time the pastoral letter was written. It said on 4th March, the signatory bishops of the letter, namely, Bishop Chiona, Bishop Mkori, Bishop Chimoli, Bishop Chandzera, (Bishop Chipembera), and Monsignor (Howres) had called on the life president during which they expressed their gratitude and appreciation to the Ngwazi for his wise leadership under which the church had developed and progressed tremendously.

The communique said the delegates were therefore shocked to hear that the same bishops four days later issued a pastoral letter in which they attacked the policies of the Government of Malawi, of the Malawi Congress Party, and its leadership. The delegates said this is a clear (?state) of deceit and double standards which has aroused anger throughout the whole country.

The communique added that delegates were unanimous in their conviction that the so-called pastoral letter was the work of (?seven) signatory bishops and they were convinced from their observations in various parts of the country that many parishioners were shocked and dismayed by the contents of the pastoral letter.

Furthermore, the communique said delegates [words indistinct] of the bishops who until now had presented

an innocent face of [words indistinct] to the Ngwazi when they had on their own manufactured and harbored a [words indistinct]. The communique said the delegates therefore denounced in no uncertain terms the bishops' (word indistinct) attempt to plant seeds of disunity among Malawians of all denominations and called on them [words indistinct] from using the church to promote their political designs.

The communique added that the delegates reaffirmed the unity of all Malawians and all religious affiliations in their goal to maintain peace and calm, and political stability in the country [words indistinct] completely from the bishops who are responsible for [words indistinct] but appealed to all Malawians to maintain peace and calm, law and order to avoid any provocation.

**Mozambique**

**Government, Renamo Sign Accord on Electoral Law**

*MB1303053392 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 0500 GMT 13 Mar 92*

[Text] In Rome yesterday, the Mozambican Government and the Mozambique National Resistance, Renamo, signed an accord, Protocol 3, establishing the principles for the country's future electoral system. AIM reports that this follows two months of uninterrupted talks in the Italian capital.

The document enshrines agreements concerning a wide range of issues relating to Mozambique's future electoral system, the ways in which political parties are to be represented in Parliament, the organization of polling and ballot counting, and guarantees that the vote will be free, direct, secret, and personal.

AIM reports that Protocol 3 also provides guarantees concerning democratic freedoms such as freedom of movement, residence, information, association, demonstration, and access to the media.

Under the terms of Protocol 3, Mozambique must follow a system of proportional party representation in Parliament. This replaces the system of majority (?lists) in the existing Constitution.

Furthermore, legislative and presidential elections will be held simultaneously, within one year of the signing of the cease-fire accord. This had already been agreed on in the December 1991 round of talks.

Protocol 3 confirms that discussion of Renamo's proposal that the future multiparty Parliament's first priority be to revise the Constitution, will occur at a later stage in the negotiation process.

Regarding the issue of a precise definition for the status of the Mozambican refugee, the two sides have agreed that existing relevant international legislation must be

observed, thereby excluding any reference to the OAU Convention, which Renamo had rejected.

### Maputo Details 'Important Points'

MB1303124792 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network  
in Portuguese 1030 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Report by Orlanda Mendes]

[Text] In Rome, and within the framework of the ongoing bilateral negotiation process, the Mozambican Government and the Mozambique National Resistance, Renamo, have finally signed Protocol 3 on the general principles governing the drawing up of a new Electoral Law, and on the eventual changes to related legislation.

We look at some of the most important points in Protocol 3.

It is important to begin by noting that Protocol 3 awards the Mozambican Government the responsibility of drawing up the Electoral Law in consultation with Renamo, and all the other political parties.

Protocol 3 defines principles for certain specific areas, including those that concern freedom of the press, and of access to the media. Affirming the citizens' right to freedom of the press, and freedom of information, the document specifies that those freedoms include the right to create and manage newspapers, other publications, radio and television stations, and other forms of written or spoken media. The document also states that those rights will not be inhibited by censorship.

Protocol 3 enshrines the freedom of association, expression, and political propaganda. It stresses that administrative and fiscal regulations must not at any time be implemented to discriminate against, or prevent, the exercise of those rights for political reasons.

Protocol 3, which also enshrines the freedom of movement, and residence in the country, then addresses the issue of the return and social reintegration of Mozambican refugees and war-displaced people. Among other guarantees, the document states that Mozambican refugees and war-displaced people will be guaranteed reintegration and repossession of their property, if it still exists, and the legal right to demand such property from whoever may be holding it.

Protocol 3 enshrines a number of electoral procedures. It is worth noting that the Electoral Law will establish a system whereby the principle of a direct, equal, secret, and personal vote will be respected. It also provides for simultaneous parliamentary and presidential elections to be held within one year of the date of the signing of the general peace accord. That deadline may, however, be extended if there are obstacles rendering the implementation of the accord impossible.

The document defines a minimum age of 25 for voting purposes. The electoral process will be organized and led by the National Electoral Commission, which will be

formed by government officials. Renamo-appointed officials will make up one third of the National Electoral Commission's officials.

Regarding elections for the Assembly of the Republic, Protocol 3 specifies that our country's provinces will be the electoral circles. It is up to the National Electoral Commission to decide on the number of seats per circle on the basis of each province's population numbers.

The electoral system will be legally established, and it will be based on the principle of proportional representation.

Protocol 3 also determines that those parties wishing to form coalitions for parliamentary elections must do so with only one symbol on their list. That document adds that coalitions will not be permitted once the electoral campaign has begun.

Protocol 3 provides for the establishment of a minimum percentage of the national vote. Parties failing to attain that percentage will not secure any seats in Parliament. That percentage will be agreed on in consultation with all parties, and it is not expected to be lower than 5 percent, or higher than 20 percent.

Citizens older than 18 are eligible for seats in the Assembly of the Republic. The Mozambican Government and Renamo have, however, agreed to implement a transitional norm applying to the upcoming elections whereby citizens must be older than 25 to be eligible for seats in the Assembly of the Republic.

Regarding financial issues and facilities, the aforementioned document states that, on the basis of the number of candidates per party, the National Electoral Commission must guarantee the unbiased distribution of available subsidies and logistical support, to all competing parties for the electoral campaign.

Protocol 3, which was signed yesterday, also states that the Mozambican Government will work to make it easier for Renamo to secure facilities and other means allowing the accommodation and movement of, as well as communication among, its members, so that it can carry out its political work in every provincial capital and, available means permitting, in other places.

The document states that the president will be elected on an absolute majority vote. Should no candidate obtain an absolute majority, the two most voted candidates must face a second round of voting within three weeks. The protocol specifies that presidential candidates must be older than 35, and their candidacies must be supported by a minimum of 10,000 signatures by electorally active Mozambican citizens older than 18.

Protocol 3 also says that the Mozambican Government will request support from the international community at large, and from Italy in particular, for all the aforementioned purposes.



**Renamo: Focus Now on Constitutional Revision**

*MB1303083492 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 0800 GMT 13 Mar 92*

[Text] Afonso Dhlakama, the president of the Mozambique National Resistance, Renamo, is currently on a visit to Rome. Talking about the ongoing peace talks, Dhlakama said that the next round should focus on his movement's proposal for a priority revision of the Constitution by the future parliament, instead of the scheduled discussion of military issues leading to the signing of a cease-fire accord.

Afonso Dhlakama said that Renamo opposes the discussion of a cease-fire accord at (this) stage. He said that an accord on an immediate end to the war would see the government block the progress of political reform.

**Chissano Opens Frelimo Party Ordinary Session**

*MB1303114892 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 13 Mar 92*

[Text] In Maputo today, Joaquim Chissano, chairman of the Mozambique Liberation Front, Frelimo Party, said that it is hoped the next round of peace talks will focus on issues relating to an eventual cease-fire.

Addressing the opening of the Frelimo Party Central Committee's third ordinary session, Chairman Joaquim Chissano said that we should all strive to avoid feelings of disappointment and pessimism. He added that peace is the goal we must achieve.

He also noted that the logistical problems of the Mozambique Armed Forces, FAM, should not be viewed in isolation, adding that the Mozambican Government has been working to overcome difficulties.

The Frelimo Party Central Committee's third ordinary session is scheduled to last one week. It will analyze and discuss the Political Commission's report, among other things. The Political Commission document will focus on political, economic, and social issues; the peace process; the military situation in the country; the political situation in Africa; the 1992 Budget; discuss ideas in the Frelimo Party's General Plan; and assess the work that has been done since the Sixth Frelimo Party Congress.

**Namibia**

**Minister: Patrol Boats To Fire on Fish Poachers**

*MB1203202392 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2002 GMT 12 Mar 92*

[Text] Windhoek March 12 SAPA—Namibian fisheries patrol boats will in future open fire on vessels found poaching fish inside the country's 200 mile exclusive economic zone, a press statement from the Ministry of Information said on Thursday [12 March].

It was in response to the latest violation of Namibian waters by the Spanish trawler Egunsentia, caught fishing inside the EEZ [exclusive economic zone] just south the Angolan border by the patrol vessel Globe on Tuesday.

The Spanish boat, which had no identifiable call sign, ignored commands from the Globe to stop and fled into Angolan waters.

"It is not the first time that the Egunsentia operated illegally in the Namibian EEZ," the statement said. "She had been spotted and photographed while fishing illegally... on July 25, 1991."

After the July incident Foreign Affairs Minister Theoben Gurirab issued a stern warning to all ambassadors of European Community nations that force could be the only option left for the Namibian Government to enforce its laws in the EEZ.

"This last incident is a clear indication that all our pleas and warnings fell on deaf ears and that we are now left with no choice but the use of force," the statement said.

"We therefore have to inform the public and especially the fisherman poaching in our waters that our patrol vessels are armed and that these weapons will be put to use."

The Namibian Government could not be held responsible for any casualties, loss, or damage to property in future actions against pirate vessels, the statement added.

Namibian authorities have apprehended eight Spanish vessels for illegal fishing since independence.

Stiff fines were imposed on the captains and senior officers of the boats, which were also declared forfeited to the state.

Following an out of court settlement the Namibian Government has obtained two vessels, while legal proceedings concerning the remaining boats are continuing.

**'Arafat Briefs Media Following Two-Day Visit**

*MB1303113692 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1053 GMT 13 Mar 92*

[Text] Windhoek Mar 13 SAPA—The head of state and chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation [PLO], Mr Yasir 'Arafat, on Friday [13 March] wished all success "for all our friends in South Africa" in next week's referendum.

Mr 'Arafat, who is on a two-day visit to Namibia, addressed a news briefing at the Tintenpalast in Windhoek.

"I don't want to interfere more but I hope good luck for them," he added.

Replying to a question on Palestine's earlier peace initiatives, Mr 'Arafat said they had been rejected by Israel.

"What do they want... To kick us to the moon," he asked.

"We are there. We are about 6.7 million, no-one can demolish us.

"They can defeat us for a certain period of time by using huge unlimited support from America and some Western countries."

Mr 'Arafat said he had offered his hand, but it appeared the Israelis did not share the goals of peace.

"Okay, if they haven't the goals, maybe we can find a (President F W) de Klerk among them, or it seems there are no de Klerks among them," he said.

Mr 'Arafat ended the briefing with a wish for peace in South Africa, including Walvis Bay, and in his own country.

He leaves Windhoek on Friday afternoon after bilateral talks with a Namibian delegation, briefing President Sam Nujoma and members of Parliament on developments in the Middle East, a visit to SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] headquarters and attending a reception in his honour at State House on Thursday night.

## Zimbabwe

### Land Acquisition Bill Hits Constitutional Snag

MB1203182392 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1750 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Text] Harare March 12 SAPA—Zimbabwe's Land Acquisition Bill went into its second reading in the country's Parliament on Thursday [12 March] but its progress was suspended, apparently because the proposed legislation contravenes the country's Constitution, ZIANA national news agency reported.

Although Lands Minister Witness Mangwende presented his second reading speech, the bill was not read for the second time and debate was adjourned until Tuesday, March 17.

At the start of proceedings, the Parliamentary Legal Committee, which ensures bills before Parliament are not in contravention of the Constitution, reported that some sections of the Land Acquisition Bill contravened the Constitution.

In his response to the committee's adverse report, Mr Mangwende said the government had already agreed to amend the offending sections.

"However, for entirely different reasons and following representations made by the farmers, government had already agreed to propose the amendment to Clause 23 of the bill in the form referred to in the report of the Parliamentary Legal Committee," said Mr Mangwende.

"Because of the fact that government, acting from different considerations, had long since sought to amend a part of the draft bill, which the Parliamentary Legal Committee seeks to strike out, and in order not to unduly delay this important piece of legislation, my recommendations to this honourable house is that you adopt the report of the Parliamentary Legal Committee so that we can get on with the major task ahead," he said.

### Land Minister Mangwende on Acquisition Bill

#### Urges Farmers To Cooperate

MB1303080692 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2238 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Text] Harare March 12 SAPA—Zimbabwe's commercial farmers should co-operate with the government to make the land re-distribution programme work and not scare away donors from supporting the programme, the minister of lands, agriculture and rural resettlement, Mr Witness Mangwende, said on Thursday.

In his second reading speech in Parliament on the Land Acquisition Bill, the minister said farmers should not be wary about staggered payment for their land as it would be an option government would resort to only when things got tough, ZIANA news agency reports.

Commercial farmers have expressed concern about the provisions in the bill which say that an owner whose land has been designated could wait for up to five years before receiving final payment.

The farmers argue for a system of full cash payment at the time of acquisition claiming that this would enable them to buy another farm in a non-designated area to continue farming.

"Obviously, government prefers to pay cash there and then if the funds are available. This bill provides for that. The bill however also provides for government to be allowed to pay over a period of time, as a fallback position, in order to make sure that the programme does not stop in the event that funds are not made immediately available," Mr Mangwende said.

If the parties co-operated to make the economy tick and attract donors to fund the land programme, the minister said it would be a welcome development.

If the parties scared the donors from supporting the programme, government could not be expected to halt the land distribution exercise.

The government would require time to mobilise resources and pay the landowners over a period of time.

"I want to emphasise that in this respect, it is important for both the farmers as well as government to work together in order to promote this programme.

"We should therefore not be scared of the system of staggered payment which is only available to government as an option to resort to, when the going gets rough," he said.

Mr Mangwende said the shortage of funds to pay for compensation would not derail the programme at all.

The system of staggered payment was not a new thing. Zimbabwe was introducing as it had been applied elsewhere by countries faced by a similar situation to the Zimbabwean one, the minister said.

"For instance, India had a staggered system of payment for land. The Japanese Government issued bonds which were payable over a period of 40 years for the purchasing of land.

"They have only recently started repaying for those bonds which were issued a long time ago," he said adding that a government bond was a negotiable instrument which could be used as collateral with banks and finance houses.

#### Reiterates 'Fair Price'

MB1303080792 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2319 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Text] Harare March 12 SAPA—Zimbabwean farmers whose land is designated for rural resettlement would be paid a fair price contrary to allegations in some circles that the Land Acquisition Bill did not provide for fair payment, Lands Agriculture and Rural Resettlement Minister Witness Mangwende said on Thursday.

ZIANA national news agency reports that Mr Mangwende told Parliament although it was true land prices in Zimbabwe were sky-rocketing disproportionately to the prices of other agricultural resources, this did not reflect the productive potential of that land.

"We have even had to amend Section 48 at the request of farmers in order to reflect the fact that only 'professionally qualified' valuation officers will be appointed.

"In addition to that, we agreed to the amendment of Section 16 (A) in order to make it clear that 'fair price' will be paid for designated rural land for resettlement," he said.

The government would not pay exorbitant and speculative market prices for designated rural land because such prices had no relationship with productive potential of the land.

"Government assessment of the situation is that although it is true that the high prices of land are, in a way, a reflection of the market forces of demand and supply, the spiral is also

exacerbated by those people who own land for speculative purposes," said Mr Mangwende said.

#### Affirms 'No Going Back'

MB1303081192 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2326 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Text] Harare March 12 SAPA—There was no going back on the land question and the problem had to be solved now to identify and acquire five million hectares on which to resettle people, Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement Minister Witness Mangwende told the Zimbabwe Parliament on Thursday.

The news agency ZIANA reports that he said: "The die is cast. We cannot set the clock back. Never. I have recounted the history of land designation in the past by the settlers.

"The commercial farmers believe that we want to do the same in reverse. No, we do not want to do that. We just want to redress the inequitable land imbalance which we believe is not sustainable at all."

All the campaigns in the media against the land bill were meant to twist a national problem into a racial one, Mr Mangwende said.

The government did not want the land problem to destabilise the agricultural sector and disturb the stable economic environment that was conducive to the success of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP).

Die-hard landowners did not want to believe the government's sincerity regarding land distribution policies because they thought it could be done the same way they did it.

"...The problem is that some of our landowners are reacting like restored Bourbons of the French Revolution who learnt nothing and forgot nothing. Now they want to resort to the same old tactics of divide and rule.

"They are invoking one trick after another against the bill in order to stop it completely," he said.

The proposed bill was fair and reasonable and was intended to lead Zimbabwe's agricultural sector to prosperity.

The success of the country's agriculture should not be measured by the success of a minority of large-scale commercial farmers only but by the combined success of the majority of all farmers in Zimbabwe, Mr Mangwende said.



## Burkina Faso

### Government Sets Date for Legislative Elections

AB1303120592 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale du Burkina Radio in French 0630 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Excerpts] The Cabinet met yesterday from 0900 to 1200 under the chairmanship of Comrade Blaise Compaore, president of Burkina Faso and head of state. After examining the items on its agenda, the Cabinet adopted the following points: [passage omitted]

Concerning the Ministry of Territorial Administration, the Cabinet has set Sunday, 24 May as the day for the legislative elections. [passage omitted]

## Liberia

### U.S. Call for Pressuring NPFL Criticized

AB1203134092 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English 0900 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Text] The NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] has, meanwhile, criticized statement by the U.S. joint chiefs of staff calling for more diplomatic pressure on the organization. In a commentary on radio Gbarnga yesterday, the front described as partial the United States stance in the Liberian conflict and maintained that the NPFL will not be forced to submission.

## Niger

### Prime Minister on Security, Democratic Transition

AB1203214092 Niamey Voix du Sahel Network in French 1200 GMT 10 Mar 92

[News conference by Prime Minister Amadou Cheiffou with local and international reporters in Niamey on 9 March—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Abdoulaye Coulibaly of Tele Sahel] Mr. Prime Minister, given recent events, we still do not know the details of exactly what happened. The conclusion drawn, however, even raised the possibility of coup d'etat involving even some members of the transition [words indistinct]. What is the real situation?

[Cheiffou] Listen, right now we can say that it was a (?terrorist action) that nearly resulted in a coup d'etat, but we cannot say whether some members of the transition were involved. It would be absurd to [word indistinct]. At any rate, only an investigation will enable us to establish the facts of this allegation.

[Coulibaly] [words indistinct] by listening to you [words indistinct] there is a serious problem of security in this country. On one hand, we have the rebellion in the north, the issue of this mutiny, and [words indistinct]. I would like to know more about developments in the security issue, especially in regard to the rebellion in the north

and discussions surrounding it. I would also like to know if hostages are really being detained by rebels.

Second, in regard to the mutiny, I would like to know more about the information about the hundreds of [words indistinct] weapons and large quantities of ammunition which have not been returned to their depots—an issue which is very scary for a city like Niamey. Mr. Prime Minister, [words indistinct] the work of the commission of inquiry, I also would like to know the fate of the two officers who are involved in this case right now. I mean [words indistinct].

[Cheiffou] We are going to begin with the case of [words indistinct]. Concerning the fate of [name indistinct], we have said that in conformity with the decision of the national conference, he must to return to [words indistinct]. Concerning Captain (Gourou), he is already under detention and the inquiry will decide his fate. It is true that there are still some weapons and ammunition that have not been returned to the barracks yet. In this case, as in several others, the situation is being monitored closely and with vigilance. For example, yesterday, the number of weapons still missing numbered around 100, but this morning, the number is around 50, and we hope that as time goes on, the (?remaining) mutineers who have not yet returned to barracks will do so and consequently return the weapons. On this issue, the Army headquarters has given me all the necessary (?assurances). I agree with you that the situation is tense, [words indistinct] the situation is still very difficult [words indistinct] the essentials of our preoccupation.

Concerning the problems of the north, we have new [words indistinct], but as I always like to say, the question of insecurity is not [words indistinct] but you understand that for the moment, we have decided that the various parties must hold talks. I think that the best way to give this process a chance is to pursue the various contacts. [Words indistinct] can make this peace and dialogue process advance. If the time comes, all the conditions will be fulfilled and the full details will be discussed. I can tell you already that this new horizon is in sight. We have made a step forward. In view of the results already achieved, and given the outcome of contacts held here, we have decided to send an official mission to the north to contact the rebels in order to set up the best conditions for a more open and efficient dialogue. This official mission will include a representative of the president of the Republic, a representative from the High Council of the Republic [HCR], and a representative of the prime minister, and probably one or several [words indistinct].

[Name indistinct] [Words indistinct] from Niger News Agency. Mr. Prime Minister, concerning the issue of the north, given the Tuareg rebels' demands for the establishment of an international commission of inquiry in order to [words indistinct], we would like to know if [words indistinct] this demand?

[Cheiffou] Everybody is satisfied with the work of external mediators and observers. Basically, it is a problem among Niger nationals. This is the reason we have decided to settle this by issue by dialogue. As long as there is an option for an internal dialogue, we are not going to consider bringing in a third party from another country. [Words indistinct] what is important is that, first, the rebellion is losing support. It is losing support. [Words indistinct] know who is heading the rebellion, where they are, and what their conditions and demands are. They are not very important.

As a second step, we would like them to sit at the negotiating table, like everyone else. The problem, in our view, is basically a question of development; it is not a political problem, but no one is seeing it that way. There is no reason why as Nigerois we should not be able come together at the negotiating table. We do not need (?a foreigner) to do this. The only alternative at stake here is that once the talks are over, once conclusions are determined and arrived at by mutual consent, we will not have any major problems in agreeing on interested friendly countries coming in as an observers because the historic conclusions would have already been reached.

[Ogabi, Voix du Sahel News Desk] Mr. Prime Minister, following the mutiny, which some people sought to capitalize on for political ends, could you tell us what measures your government is taking to prevent this type of situation from becoming a serious threat to the future of our country's democratic process?

[Cheiffou] At the moment, the situation tends toward normalcy [words indistinct]. Concerning future upheavals, it is difficult to make any predictions. However, our conviction, our (?desire) is that Niger will operate during its transition period within a system of peaceful democratization. It is for this reason that the Armed Forces, which have become a partner, a partner made up of forces—armed forces, security forces—participated with all the other democratic forces in the sovereign national conference, thereby proving that they are capable of participating in the democratization process and playing the role that the state expects. Consequently, to avoid a repeat of this situation, our strategy is to use dialogue and consultation again, and, in the long run, to reconcile the people with their Army and the Army with its people. This, in our view, was one of the (?lapses) in the past. As I already said: In what condition did we find the Army? We found an Army with a lot of shortcomings regarding equipment, training, and career prospects, but also, from the political standpoint, there was a wide gap between the Army and the people. During the transition period, we will endeavor to ensure that this gap is bridged and that once and for all the Army, having been restructured, understands and agrees that it also has an historic national role to play in this irreversible democratization process which Niger has embarked upon.

[Unidentified reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, in spite of the assurances you have just given, the recent crisis which occurred in our country openly revealed an

apparent lack of cohesion among the various transition organs, because after his release the HCR chairman, a statement to reporters, clearly stated that he had not been informed of the message read on radio and television by the interim prime minister, a message which, in the opinion of soldiers, had been read on (?16 February).

[Cheiffou] A lack of cohesion between the transition organs? Personally, I cannot confirm this assertion, and hence.... [Cheiffou changes thought] And even if any lessons have been drawn from the events, they actually concern cohesion between the organs of transition. The transition organs have worked remarkably well in the most perfect coordination and harmony. I have just explained to you, a lot of [words indistinct] worked simultaneously in perfect coordination. Regarding the statement made by the HCR chairman, I think that while making it, he himself explained what happened. When the acting prime minister and the minister of national education drafted the message, he read it to me on telephone—I was at Maradi. I told him the message was alright with me, but I also told him that before doing anything, he should contact Mr. Andre Salifou, the HCR chairman. He went searching during the night—it was after 2200—for the HCR chairman, who was no where to be found. Thus, having failed to trace the HCR chairman, the minister of national educational contacted me once more by telephone. At this point, I asked him to go to the HCR where two other members were on duty; in fact, I had just gotten off the phone with them. He went to the HCR; the chairman was not there. The two HCR members were and they told him that they agreed with him. They told him that he had their backing and to read the message quickly. This is what really happened.

[Unidentified reporter] Even though it was not officially stated, during this crisis the fragility of the transition institutions was really noticed. Should we not expect a cabinet reshuffle within the next few days?

[Cheiffou] You know, these events imply that all sorts of lessons should be learned, including all the measures the prime minister should take in running his government. So, absolutely, nothing has really (?changed) regarding our (?objective).

[Unidentified reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, does anything preclude early elections?

[Cheiffou] Well, if early elections have to be decided upon, it would not fall within the powers of the government or cabinet. [passage omitted]

I am sure that we will be able to meet this challenge, even though it is a difficult one. Some countries went through more difficult challenges than ours and were able to overcome them. There is no reason that we should not overcome it. In any case, we are determined to learn everything we can from what has happened and move resolutely in the direction set by the national conference with the aim of achieving our democratic objectives.

I regard the specifications of the national conference and the transition government's activities as comparable to a mathematical theorem, if you will. The government has no program of its own; the prime minister has no individual program. The specifications are the government's program, which they were adopted by all those who took part in the conference. It is like a theorem which has been written by the nation as a whole, and the government has been entrusted to apply this theorem [words indistinct]. Henceforth, the whole nation, as well as all the partners, and not the government solely, are liable for the implementation of the measures included in the specifications. [passage omitted]

We must say that the specifications—the HCR chairman even said it at the conference—are not excessive specifications. They involve a certain number of constraints which are extremely important. The specifications say no to the structural adjustment program and no to the educational program [word indistinct]. Thus, they put limits on external resources. They also say no to salary reductions, thus no layoffs. They favor granting scholarships to students, and so on. They involve a certain number of constraints. The result will enable us to see where we stand. Is it satisfactory for all of us? If not, which way should we go? This is how we regard the specifications of the conference and their application by the government.

How do we consider the active forces as real partners with whom we intend to initiate a dynamic dialogue which enables us to learn from one another and correct ourselves as we move along? We will review this during the first quarter. At the end of this week, I will tell you when. From that point, we will adopt another decree for the next quarter and this how we think [words indistinct] explain the specifications.

It is obvious that the government cannot be held solely responsible for what has happened since October. It is the nation as a whole, which is why we think that since the nation and the various partners defined and stipulated the measures included in the specifications, they must guide and help us make the relevant corrections as the (?situation) evolves. I think that this is clear.

[Unidentified reporter] Your Excellency, with regard to the transitional institutions, let us consider the Crime and Political Abuse Commission, which made its last appearance on 15 February this year. It presented results, but it must be said that Niger citizens were disappointed by them. What is your point of view as the head of the transitional government?

[Cheiffou] Okay, the results constitute a concern for the government in the sense that it should also have constituted resources for the government, resources for the head of state's operations. In any case, that is what had been planned by the national conference. Yet, unfortunately, at the present time the Crimes and Abuse Commission has not brought a single cent to the government, and as I am talking to you now, I have not received on

behalf of the government a single cent. What does the constituent act of the Crime and Abuse Commission provide for? It states clearly that the Crime and Abuse Commission, during the transition, should carry out preparatory investigations, and then pass the results to the relevant authorities. In other words, the commission was to have [words indistinct] them according to the nature of the persons involved, and it would be up to the government to have the cases treated either in the courts or (?outside) the judicial system, in a case involving personalities concerned by the [words indistinct]. Anyhow, as far as the government is concerned, up until now, unfortunately, we have not received a single cent. Nothing has been deposited [words indistinct].

So, your concern is real in the sense that a lot of hope had been banked on the recovery of assets that the government is (?expecting,) stated in the very statement of responsibilities. The government has been charged with the repatriation, within the shortest possible time, of assets and [words indistinct], but even before that, the assets should be identified and known. Documents should also have to be received on them, and the Justice Department must be informed. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified reporter] Given what has happened in certain African countries where a national conference was held, and given recent events here, are you optimistic about the advent of democracy in our country?

[Cheiffou] The democratic process, as I believe I have (?said many times) is a long and difficult process, but we should certainly not be discouraged. We must persevere. The transition, as I like to say—whether it be in Niger or elsewhere—is a system designed to prepare the way for the future. It is a bridge, an unavoidable passage, which carries with it the hope of finding on the other side, a country prepared for (?democracy.) One of the fundamental conditions for development is indeed democratization. So, there are [word indistinct]. There were some nine years ago. I do not think we should be discouraged, nor should we have any illusions. In fact those who have taken this path before have really proven to us that we should hold hard and fast. We should continue the dialogue. We should continue the education, especially the education of the masses, until the country speaks the same language, and recovers its mission, our mission of (?grandeur).

## Nigeria

### Liberia's Sawyer Visits; Communique Issued

AB1203064092 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network  
in English 1800 GMT 11 mar 92

[Text] Nigeria is to be involved in the postwar reconstruction of Liberia, particularly in efforts to revamp the economy. To this end, the private sectors of both countries have been urged to begin to identify various areas of commercial cooperation.

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**DATE FILMED**

16 March 1992



